

A CRITICAL EDITION OF
AL-ARAJ AL-MISKĪ FĪ T-TĀRĪKH AL-MAKKĪ
BY 'ALĪ B. 'ABD AL-QĀDIR AṬ-ṬABARĪ,
together with an introduction to the work and its author

presented by

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TABLE OF CONTENTS

Acknowledgements	page iii
Abstract	iv-v
Transliteration	vi
Abbreviations	vii-xi

PART ONE

Introduction to the work and its author

Chapter One: The Author's Life and His Works

The authenticity of at-Ṭabarī's authorship of this work	1
The title	2
His name and lineage	2-6
His family	6-10
The author's life and education	11
His teachers	11-14
His posts	14-16
His students	17-18
The author's works	18-20
His character	20-21
His death	21

Chapter Two: A Survey of the Writing of Meccan History up to the Time of 'Alī at-Ṭabarī 22-76

Chapter Three: The Author as an Historian and his Contribution to the History of Mecca

1. The author's theory of History and Historian's Qualifications	77-81
2. The author as an Historian	81-86
3. His Contribution to the History of Mecca	
His plan	86-88
His sources	88-93
The importance of this work	93-97

Chapter Four: The Manuscripts' Descriptions 98-105

Bibliography

106-120

Appendix

PART TWO

The Arabic Text

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is concerned with the work of al-Araj al-Miskī fī t-Tārīkh al-Makkī by 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir aṭ-Ṭabarī. The work is one of the main sources of Meccan history, in particular during the eleventh century of the Hijra/seventeenth century A.D.

Its author was one of the leading Meccan scholars, who held a number of religious posts in Mecca, and came from a highly respected family of scholars, 'ulamā'.

Part One is an introduction to the work and its author. Chapter One deals with the authenticity of this work and includes a biography of the author and a description of his other works.

Chapter Two is a survey of the writing of Meccan history until the author's time, which gives a brief description of every work, and its place in the writing of the history of Mecca. This helps to give the reader a clear picture of the author's sources, and the place of the present work in Meccan historiography.

Chapter Three is a study about the author as an historian and his contribution to the history of Mecca. In this chapter, the author's theory of history and the historian's qualifications have been discussed, and whether he applies them to himself or not. It also includes a study of the author's plan and his use of his sources, and finally a study of the importance of this work.

Chapter Four is a description of the manuscripts which have been used in editing this work.

Part Two is the Arabic text of the work, together with the footnotes. The original copy of this work seems to be lost, but three later copies containing the first two-thirds of the work have been consulted. In order to establish the correct reading of the work, the author's sources and the later works which used this work as a source have been consulted as well.

An attempt has been made to define people and geographical places, and some difficult Arabic words, and poetry, with the reference to relevant sources. Special care has been taken to establish the correct reading of some Qur'ānic verses and some of the Prophet's traditions, with the reference to the Holy Qur'ān and some of the Sihāh traditions.

TRANSLITERATION

I have followed the system adopted by the Department of Arabic at Edinburgh University.

ABBREVIATIONS

used in the Introduction

<u>'Ajā'ib</u>	'Abd ar-Rahmān al-Jabartī, <u>'Ajā'ib al-Athār fī t-Tarājim wa-l-Akhhbār</u>
<u>A'lām</u>	Khayr ad-Dīn az-Ziriklī, <u>al-A'lām</u>
<u>Badr</u>	Muḥammad b. 'Alī ash-Shawkānī, <u>al-Badr at-Tāli' bi Mahāsin man ba'd al-Qarn as-Sābi'</u>
<u>Bankipore</u>	The Oriental Public Library, Bankipore
<u>Berlin</u>	<u>Staatsbibliothek, Berlin</u>
<u>Bodleian</u>	Bodleian Library, Oxofrd
<u>Cairo (Dār)</u>	Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, Cairo
<u>Cairo (Ma'had)</u>	Ma'had al-Makṭūtāt al-'Arabiyya, Cairo
<u>Cambridge</u>	Cambridge University Library
<u>Daw'</u>	Muḥammad as-Sakhāwī, <u>ad-Daw' al-Lāmi' li ahli al-Qarn at-Tāsi'</u>
<u>Dublin</u>	The Chester Beatty Library, Dublin (Ireland)
<u>Durar</u>	Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Hajar al-'Asqalānī, <u>ad-Durar al-Kāmina fī A'yān al-Mi'a ath-Thāmina</u>
<u>E.I.¹</u>	<u>Encyclopaedia of Islam</u> (old edition)

E.I.²Encyclopaedia of Islam (new edition)Fawā'idMuṣṭafā al-Ḥamawī, Fawā'id al-Irtihāl wa
Natā'ij as-Safar fī Akhbār al-Qarn al-Ḥādī
'AsharFawātMuḥammad b. Shākir al-Kutubī, Fawāt
al-WafayātFihristIbn an-Nadīm, al-FihristG.A.L.Carl Brockelmann, Geschichte der Arabischen
LitteraturHadiyyatIsmā'il al-Baghdādī, Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn,
Asmā' al-Mu'allifīn wa Athār al-Muṣannifīn'IbarMuḥammad b. Aḥmad Dhahabī, al-'Ibar fī
Khabar man GhabarIdāhIsmā'il al-Baghdādī, Idāh al-Maknūn fī
adh-Dhayl 'alā Kashf az-ZunūnI'lāmQuṭb ad-Dīn an-Nahrawālī, al-I'lām bi
A'lām Bayt Allāh al-ḤarāmI'lānMuḥammad b. 'Abd ar-Raḥmān as-Sakhāwī,
al-I'lān bi t-Tawbīkh li man Dhamm at-TārīkhInbā''Abd al-Qādir at-Ṭabarī, Inbā' al-Bariyya
bi l-Abnā' at-Ṭabariyya'IqdMuḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, al-'Iqd
ath-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn

<u>Irshād</u>	Yāqūt al-Ḥamawī, <u>Kitāb Irshād al-Arīb ilā Ma'rifat al-Adīb — Mu'jam al-Udabā'</u>
<u>Isāba</u>	Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī, <u>al-Isāba fī Tamyīz as-Ṣaḥāba</u>
<u>Istī'āb</u>	Yūsuf b. 'Abd al-Barr, <u>al-Istī'āb fī Asmā' al-Aṣḥāb</u>
<u>Jamharat</u>	'Alī b. Aḥmad Ibn Ḥazm, <u>Jamharat Ansāb al-'Arab</u>
<u>Jāmi'</u>	Muḥammad Ibn Zuhayra, <u>al-Jāmi' al-Laṭīf fī Fadl Makka wa ahlihā wa Binā' al-Bayt ash-Sharīf</u>
<u>Jeddah</u>	The Central Library of King 'Abd al-'Azīz University, Jeddah
<u>Kashf</u>	Ḥājji Khalīfa, <u>Kashf az-Zunūn 'an Asāmī al-Kutub wa l-Funūn</u>
<u>Khabāyā</u>	Ḥasan al-'Ujaymī, <u>Khabāyā az-Zawāyā</u>
<u>Khulāṣat</u>	Muḥammad al-Muḥibbī, <u>Khulāṣat al-Athar fī A'yān al-Qarn al-Ḥādī 'Ashar</u>
<u>Lahz</u>	Muḥammad Ibn Fahd, <u>Lahz al-Alḥāz bi Dhayl Tabaqāt al-Ḥufāz</u>
<u>Leiden</u>	The Library of the University of Leiden
<u>Lubāb</u>	'Alī Ibn al-Athīr, <u>al-Lubāb fī Tahdhīb al-Ansāb</u>

<u>Manchester</u>	The John Rylands Library, Manchester
<u>Mecca</u>	<u>Maktabat al-Haram al-Makkī</u> , The Library of the Holy Mosque of Mecca
<u>Mukhtasar</u>	'Abd Allāh Mirdād Abū al-Khayr, <u>al-Mukhtasar</u> <u>min Kitāb Nashr an-Nūr wa z-Zahar fī</u> <u>Tarājim Afādil Makka min al-Qarn al-'Āshar</u> <u>ilā al-Qarn ar-Rābi' 'Ashar</u>
<u>Nash'āt</u>	'Abd al-Qādir Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabarī, <u>Nash'āt</u> <u>as-Sulāfa bi Munshā'at al-Khilāfa</u>
<u>Paris</u>	Bibliothèque Nationale, Paris
<u>Princeton</u>	Princeton University Library, Princeton, New Jersey (U.S.A.)
<u>Sarkīs</u>	Yūsuf Aliān Sarkīs, <u>Mu'jam al-Matbū'āt</u> <u>al-'Arabiyya wa l-Mu'arraba</u>
<u>Shadharāt</u>	'Abd al-Ḥayy Ibn al-'Imād al-Ḥanbalī, <u>Shadharāt adh-Dhahab fī Akhbār man Dhahab</u>
<u>Shifā'</u>	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad al-Fāsī, <u>Shifā' al-Gharām</u> <u>bi Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām</u>
<u>Simt</u>	'Abd al-Malik al-'Isāmī, <u>Simt an-Nujūm</u> <u>al-'Awālī fī Anbā' al-Awā'il wa t-Tawālī</u>
<u>Tadhkirat</u>	Muḥammad b. Aḥmad adh-Dhahabī, <u>Tadhkirat</u> <u>al-Hufāz</u>

Tahdhīb

Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. Ḥajar al-'Asqalānī,

Tahdhīb at-Tahdhīb

Talass

Muḥammad Ṭalass, al-Kashshāf 'an Makhtūtāt

Khazā'in Kutub al-Awqāf (Baghdad)

Tārīkh Baghdād

Aḥmad al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī, Tārīkh Baghdād

Wafayāt

Aḥmad Ibn Khallikān, Wafayāt al-A'yān wa

Anbā' az-Zamān

Yale

The Yale University Library (U.S.A.)

Zāhiriyya

Dār al-Kutub az-Zāhiriyya, Damascus

CHAPTER I

THE AUTHOR'S LIFE AND HIS WORKS

The authenticity of at-Ṭabarī's authorship of this work

The author of this work, as is indicated on the title page of the manuscript, is 'Alī b. Muḥiyy ad-Dīn 'Abd al-Qādir al-Ḥusaynī at-Ṭabarī.

There is confirmation of the author having written a book with this title from the works of a number of historians and biographers. Al-Muḥibbī mentioned it in his book Khulāṣat al-Athar⁽¹⁾, al-'Iṣāmī mentioned it in his book Simt an-Nujūm.⁽²⁾ Al-Baghdādī also mentioned it in Idāh al-Maknūn⁽³⁾, and again in Hadiyyat al-'Ārifīn.⁽⁴⁾ Az-Ziriklī, mentioned it in al-A'lām⁽⁵⁾, and Kaḥḥālah mentioned it in Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn.⁽⁶⁾ Al-'Ujaymī indicated in his work Khabāyā az-Zawāyā⁽⁷⁾ that at-Ṭabarī wrote a book about the history of Mecca, and this seems to be the book he was referring to.

1. Vol. III, p. 161.

2. Vol. I, p. 16.

3. Vol. I, p. 57.

4. Vol. I, p. 759.

5. Vol. V, p. 115, and Vol. X, p. 265.

6. Vol. VII, p. 126.

7. Cairo (Dār) Ms. fol. 85a.

The title

The title of this work is given on the title page as al-Araj al-Miskī fī at-Tārīkh al-Makkī; the variations in this title are very slight, the author gives the title in his introduction⁽¹⁾ as al-Araj al-Miskī wa t-Tārīkh al-Makkī. It is also mentioned by al-Ḥamawī⁽²⁾ and al-Muḥibbī⁽³⁾, and al-Baghdādī⁽⁴⁾ and Kaḥḥālāh⁽⁵⁾, whereas al-ʿIsāmī⁽⁶⁾ gave this work the title al-Araj al-Miskī bi t-Tārīkh al-Makkī.

His name and lineage

Al-Muḥibbī⁽⁷⁾, one of the author's biographers, has provided us with the author's full name, in his entry to the author's father, as:

[ʿAlī b.] ʿAbd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Yaḥyā b. Mukram b. Muḥib ad-Dīn b. Radī ad-Dīn b. Muḥib ad-Dīn b. Shihāb ad-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. ʿAlī b. Fāris b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. ʿAlī b. ʿAbd al-Wāḥid

1. Text, p. 4.

2. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 277a.

3. Khulāṣat, vol. III, p. 161.

4. Hadiyyat, vol. I, p. 759, and Idāh, vol. I, p. 57.

5. Mu'jam al-Mu'allifin, vol. VII, p. 126.

6. Simt, vol. I, p. 16.

7. Khulāṣat, vol. II, p. 457.

b. Mūsā b. Ibrāhīm b. Ja'far b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥusaynī at-Ṭabarī al-Makkī ash-Shāfi'ī.

The author himself⁽¹⁾ has given his ancestry from Raḍī ad-Dīn Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. 'Alī b. Fāris b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥusaynī at-Ṭabarī. The author copied this ancestry from 'Umar b. Fahd's work at-Tabyīn fī Tarājim at-Ṭabariyīn.⁽²⁾ A part of this ancestry has been added in the margin of 'Umar b. Fahd's work ad-Durr al-Kamīn fī dh-Dhayl 'alā al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn⁽³⁾, in his entry to Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid at-Ṭabarī, as "Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm b. Abī Bakr b. 'Alī b. Fāris b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm"; unfortunately the rest of this ancestry has been cut off from the manuscript when it was being photographed. It seems this addition in the margin has been made by Ibn Fahd himself, as he indicated in the entry to Muḥammad b. al-Muḥib Muḥammad at-Ṭabarī, that the rest of his ancestry has been mentioned in the entry of his relative Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid.⁽⁴⁾

1. Text, pp. 237-38.

2. It seems that this work has been lost.

3. Cairo (Ma'had) 1042, fol. 32b.

4. Ibid., vol. 59b-60a.

Ibn Ma'sūm in his work Anwār ar-Rabī' b. Anwā' al-Badī'⁽¹⁾, also mentioned the author's ancestry in his entry to the author's father as⁽²⁾:

['Alī b.] 'Abd al-Qādir Muḥiyy ad-Dīn b. Muḥammad b. Yahyā⁽³⁾ b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥiyy ad-Dīn b. Raḍī ad-Dīn b. Shihāb ad-Dīn b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Abī Bakr b. 'Alī b. Fāris b. Yūsuf b. Ibrāhīm b. Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid b. 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib al-Ḥusaynī.

There are disagreements between those biographers and writers who have mentioned aṭ-Ṭabarī's ancestry, and these are the two main theories:

1. The great-grandfather, whose name is Mukram in al-Muḥibbī's account, in Ibn Ma'sūm's account is Abū Bakr; however Abū Bakr might be Mukram's kunya.

2. The son of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib, in al-Muḥibbī's account is Muḥammad, whereas the author and Ibn Ma'sūm's accounts give 'Abd al-Wāḥid. According to Ibn Ma'sūm⁽⁴⁾, there is some doubt as to whether 'Abd al-Wāḥid is a son of 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib or not. However, he indicated that as-Suyūṭī rejected this ancestry in his treatise (risāla) about false ancestries.⁽⁵⁾

1. Arabic manuscript at Edinburgh University Library, No. 42.

2. Ibid., fol. 435a.

3. Twice in the Ms.

4. Ibid., loc. cit.

5. Ibid., loc. cit.

Ibn Ḥazm⁽¹⁾ does not indicate that 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn had a son called 'Abd al-Wāḥid, whereas he does show that 'Alī b. al-Ḥusayn had a son called Muḥammad, and Muḥammad had a son called Ja'far. Ja'far did not have a son called Ibrāhīm⁽²⁾, as al-Muḥibbī indicated.

On the other hand, al-'Iṣāmī⁽³⁾ does not mention Ibrāhīm as a son of Ja'far, when he mentioned Ja'far's sons.

On the contrary, between the author's and Ibn Ma'sūm's and al-Muḥibbī's accounts, there are several disagreements about the author's ancestry in several points in the lineage. This gives rise to some doubt as to whether the author is a Ḥusaynī or not.

However, it is clear that the actual truth of the author's claim to be a Ḥusaynī is not important the importance of this lies in what he and his family gained from this claim.

This ancestry may have helped them to establish themselves among Meccan society. However, the respect in which they were held chiefly comes from their position as scholars ('ulamā'), as at-Ṭabarī was a member of a family of well-known 'ulamā' not only in Mecca but throughout the Islamic world from the seventh century of the Hijra until the twelfth century of the Hijra (thirteenth-eighteenth centuries A.D.). It is noticeable

1. Jamharat, p. 52.

2. Ibid., p. 59.

3. Simt, vol. IV, p. 130.

that there was an increasing tendency for most of the 'ulamā' of that time to claim a lineage going back to one of the four orthodox caliphs. Thus it is not surprising to find that at-Ṭabarī's family claimed that it was descended from al-Ḥusayn.

Secondly, this claim seems to have been introduced by later successors, during the ninth century of the Hijra (fifteenth century A.D.) because al-Fāsi⁽¹⁾ does not mention it in his work al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn, where he includes biographies of a number of this family's members.

His family

It would seem that the origin of this family is Ṭabaristān⁽²⁾, as at-Ṭabarī usually refers to Ṭabaristān.⁽³⁾

The first member of this family⁽⁴⁾ who came to Mecca, was Abū Bakr b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm at-Ṭabarī, who died in 613/1216 in 'Arafāt, while he was attending

1. 'Iqd, passim.

2. A province of Persia, situated north of Mount Alburz, and south of the Caspian Sea, west of Jurjān and east of Jilān; C. Huart, "Ṭabaristān", E.I.¹.

3. Lubāb, vol. II, p. 80.

4. There were in fact two families who shared the same surname, this family and ash-Shaybānī. However, the latter first inhabited Mecca, but they disappeared earlier than the former.

the pilgrimage.⁽¹⁾ It is not certain when he arrived in Mecca, but al-Fāsī indicated that it was probably in the eighth decade of the sixth century of the Hijra.⁽²⁾

Three of his sons held religious posts in Mecca:

1. Aḥmad (573-614/1177-1217) was a qādī of Mecca, or a sub-qādī, in 614/1217. Al-Fāsī also indicates that he was a qādī at the two Holy Mosques (Mecca and Medina) and their muftī too.⁽³⁾

2. 'Alī (576-640/1180-1242) was an Imām al-Maqām (Abraham's site), as well as the preacher (khatīb) of the Holy Mosque of Mecca.⁽⁴⁾

3. Ishāq (588-670?/1192-1272) was a qādī of Mecca, or a sub-qādī.⁽⁵⁾

Afterwards, the posts of qādī and Imām al-Maqām in Mecca were usually occupied by them, until the end of the twelfth century of the Hijra (eighteenth century A.D.).

Their reputation as 'ulamā' spread over the Islamic world during that time, which entitled them to occupy religious posts in Mecca.

There were three main families whose members usually held religious offices:

1. at-Ṭabarī;

1. 'Iqd, vol. VIII, pp. 20f.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

3. Ibid., vol. III, pp. 20f.

4. Ibid., vol. VI, pp. 143f.

5. Ibid., vol. III, pp. 291ff.

2. Banū Zuhayra;

3. Nuwayrī.

Despite the relationship between these families through marriage⁽¹⁾, there still remained some bad feeling as a result of the competition for office between them.

At-Ṭabarī's family were on friendly terms with the Sharīf of Mecca's family. Al-Fāsī quoted an exchange of poetry between Ḥāzim b. Shumayla b. Abī Numay' and al-Bahā' at-Ṭabarī.⁽²⁾ The author's father was a close friend of the Sharīf Ḥasan b. Abī Numay and he dedicated most of his works to him.⁽³⁾ When a member of at-Ṭabarī's family died, usually the Sharīf of Mecca attended his funeral prayer.⁽⁴⁾ When the Sharīf Idrīs b. Ḥasan knew about the death of the author's father, he was very sad.⁽⁵⁾ Also, the Sharīf Muḥsin b. al-Ḥusayn attended the author's marriage contract in the Holy Mosque.⁽⁶⁾

There was also a relationship between the two families by marriage, as the Sharīf 'Ajlān b. Rumaytha b. Abī Numay married Zaynab bint Ahmad b. Muḥammad at-Ṭabarī (d. 793/1391) in 770/1368, and then she asked him for a divorce, because he had taken a concubine.⁽⁷⁾

1. 'Iqd, vol. VIII, passim; Daw', vol. XII, passim.

2. 'Iqd, vol. IV, pp. 41ff.

3. Text, p. 233.

4. Ibid., p. 229.

5. Simt, vol. IV, p. 404.

6. Text, p. 229.

7. 'Iqd, vol. VIII, pp. 224f.

This friendly relationship was not only between them and the Sharīf's family, but also between them and the rulers of the Islamic world at that time.

Al-Fāsī indicates that Muhib ad-Dīn at-Ṭabarī was highly respected by al-Muzaffar Shams ad-Dīn Yūsuf b. 'Umar b. Rasūl, the ruler of Yemen (647-694/1249-1295), and he appointed him as a teacher in his father's school in Mecca, which was called al-Mansūriyya, offering him a salary of fifty dīnārs monthly, while the income of this school was 240 dīnārs yearly.⁽¹⁾ Muhib ad-Dīn also educated al-Muzaffar, and taught him hadīth.⁽²⁾

Qāytbay, the Mamlūk Sultān (872-901/1467-1495), respected Muhib ad-Dīn at-Ṭabarī Muḥammad b. Muḥammad and appointed him as the head of qādīs and Shaykh al-Haram and muftī and teacher and muhtasib, and dismissed at-Ṭabarī's enemies.⁽³⁾

The Ottoman Sultān Salīm b. Sulaymān always sent with his post to Mecca, two gowns of wool and a prayer rug, and fifteen dīnārs for their tailoring for the author's grandfather, Yahyā.⁽⁴⁾

Al-Fāsī⁽⁵⁾ mentioned a number of female members of this family who taught different subjects in the religious

1. 'Iqd, vol. III, p. 65.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

3. Text, pp. 349-352.

4. Ibid., p. 313.

5. 'Iqd, vol. VIII, passim.

sciences, and a number of Meccan 'ulamā' were taught by them. Ibn Fahd⁽¹⁾ indicates that he was taught by Umm al-Ḥasan Fāṭima, and Umm Muḥammad 'Almā' bint Abī al-Yamin Muḥammad b. Aḥmad at-Ṭabarī. As-Sakhāwī⁽²⁾ also indicates that he was taught by a number of female members of this family, and most of the Meccan 'ulamā' attended some lectures given by these ladies. Again, az-Ziriklī⁽³⁾ maintains that Quraysh (d. 1107/1695), the author's sister, was one of the authorities of hadīth during the eleventh century of the Hijra (sixteenth century A.D.).

However, this family was beginning to disappear, by the beginning of the thirteenth century of the Hijra (nineteenth century A.D.), as Mirdād⁽⁴⁾ mentioned that Khadīja bint 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī at-Ṭabarī — the author's granddaughter — died in the beginning of that century. She was a teacher for a number of scholars of her time, too. She was the last member of this family to be mentioned, whereas 'Abd al-Wahhāb b. 'Alī b. Fadl was the last male member of this family, who died in 1176/1762.⁽⁵⁾

1. Lahz, p. 102.

2. Daw', vol. XII, passim.

3. A'lām, vol. VI, p. 38.

4. Mukhtaṣar, vol. I, pp. 148f.

5. Ibid., vol. II, p. 288.

The author's life and education

Among those who wrote a biography of the author was his father, in his work Inbā' al-Bariyya. He indicated that the author was born on the night of 27th Sha'bān 1012/30th January 1604.⁽¹⁾ He relates that a strange accident happened a day before his birth. His sister Fāṭima died and her death caused sadness to her mother, but Allāh gave her a replacement through him.

Al-'Ujaymī⁽²⁾ mentioned his birth was in 1008 or 1010/1600-1602. On the other hand al-Ḥamawī⁽³⁾ copied the author's birthday from the author's father's work.

He was educated first by his father, and learnt the Qur'ān by heart. He attended lessons from several scholars during his time in grammar, arithmetic (ḥisāb), jurisprudence (fiqh), ḥadīth, prosody ('arūd) and logic (mantiq), etc.

His teachers

As has been mentioned, among those who taught him was his father 'Abd al-Qādir at-Ṭabarī⁽⁴⁾ (976-1033/

1. fol. 90.

2. Khabāyā, fol. 84b.

3. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 319b.

4. He was one of the leading Shāfi'ite scholars in Mecca, and Imām al-Maqām and a khatīb in the Holy Mosque of Mecca. Khulāṣat, vol. II, pp. 457ff; Simt, vol. IV, pp. 403f.

1568-1624), who taught him Qur'ān and grammar and arithmetic and jurisprudence and ḥadīth.⁽¹⁾ The author also attended lessons by a number of Meccan scholars as well as non-Meccan scholars, among them:

Aḥmad b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Allān aṣ-Ṣiddīqī al-Makkī⁽²⁾
(d. 1033/1624), who taught him jurisprudence and logic.⁽³⁾

'Umar b. 'Abd ar-Rahīm al-Baṣrī⁽⁴⁾ (d. 1037/1628)
also taught the author grammar and jurisprudence.⁽⁵⁾

'Abd al-Malik b. Jamāl ad-Dīn b. Ismā'īl al-'Iṣāmī⁽⁶⁾
(978-1037/1570-1628) also taught him grammar and literature.⁽⁷⁾

Aḥmad b. al-Faḍl b. Muḥammad Bākathīr al-Makkī⁽⁸⁾
(d. 1047/1637) taught him arithmetic and prosody.⁽⁹⁾

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1. Inbā', fol. 90; Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 319b; Khabāyā, fol. 84b.
 2. He was one of the Ṣūfī Imāms in Mecca; Khulāṣat, vol. I, pp. 157f.
 3. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 320a.
 4. He was one of the leading scholars in Mecca, and a teacher and a muftī in Mecca as well; Khulāṣat, vol. III, pp. 210ff, and Simt, vol. IV, p. 419.
 5. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 320a; Khabāyā, fol. 84b.
 6. He was one of the famous men of letters in Mecca; Simt, vol. IV, pp. 420f; Khulāṣat, vol. III, pp. 87f.
 7. Khabāyā, fol. 84b.
 8. He was a poet and astrologer and mathematician; Khulāṣat, vol. I, pp. 271ff.
 9. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 320a.

Muḥammad b. Muḥammad al-Ghazzī⁽¹⁾, Najm ad-Dīn (977-1061/1570-1651), taught the author hadīth⁽²⁾ when al-Ghazzī was attending the pilgrimage.

Khālīd b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Mālikī al-Ja'farī al-Maghribī al-Makkī⁽³⁾ (d. 1043/1634) also taught the author hadīth.⁽⁴⁾

The author was educated by a number of scholars about whom we have little information; they include:

His father-in-law 'Ārif b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb al-Hindī⁽⁵⁾, who taught him Sufism; Ṣāliḥ at-Takrūrī⁽⁶⁾ taught him to recite the Qur'ān; Muḥammad al-Iskandarī⁽⁷⁾ taught him hadīth as well as Mansūr al-Maqdisī.⁽⁸⁾ Ḥusayn al-Kurdī⁽⁹⁾ taught him grammar, and Muḥammad Ḥusayn al-Khāfī an-Naqshabandī taught him Sufism too.⁽¹⁰⁾

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1. He was one of the famous traditionists in the Islamic world during his time; Khulāṣat, vol. IV, pp. 189ff.
 2. Khabāyā, fol. 84b.
 3. He was a Malikite muftī and Imām at the Malikite Maqām in the Holy Mosque of Mecca; Khulāṣat, vol. II, p. 129.
 4. Khabāyā, vol. 84b.
 5. He was one of the Ṣūfī shaykhs in Mecca; Khabāyā, fol. 32a.
 6. Ibid., fol. 84b.
 7. Ibid., fol. 84b.
 8. Ibid., loc. cit.
 9. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 320a.
 10. Khabāyā, fol. 84b.

The author was given a licence (ijāza) by 'Abd al-Wāhid b. Ibrāhīm al-Ḥaṣārī⁽¹⁾ to teach hadīth.

From this, it can be understood that the author studied under the most famous scholars in Mecca during his time. While he studied most branches of knowledge available, he concentrated on the religious sciences, as these were the particular interest of his own family. In this way he became qualified to occupy religious posts.

The author describes the hardship of his years of study in his introduction to this work, claiming that he followed the right system of education when he started by studying the religious sciences.⁽²⁾

His posts

The title page of this work describes the author as Imām al-Maqām (Shāfi'ite Maqām); in other words he was one of the leading Shāfi'ite scholars in Mecca. The author also refers to himself as a teacher and a muftī in Mecca.⁽³⁾

In his entry on the Ottoman Sultān Murād b. Aḥmad, the author tells us that he was appointed as hadīth

1. He lived for a long time, as he was born in 910/1504 and died in the third decade of the eleventh century.

He was a traditionist as well as khatīb in Mecca; Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 37ff.

2. Text, p. 3f.

3. Ibid., loc. cit.

teacher through the intervention of one of the Sultān's agents.⁽¹⁾

In another place, he tells us again that he threatened the keeper of the well of Zamzam, that he would make a fatwa against him as a grave sinner (fāsiq) if he insisted on closing the well and preventing the people from taking water.⁽²⁾ This indicates that he was a muftī. In his work al-Aqwāl al-Jalīla fī Sharḥ Risālat al-Waṣīla, the author was described as a muftī of Mecca.⁽³⁾

His father, in his work Inbā' al-Bariyya, gives him the title of Imām al-Maqām and the preacher (khatīb) of the Holy Mosque⁽⁴⁾, and the same title was given by al-Ḥamawī⁽⁵⁾ as well.

Al-'Ujaymī describes him as the most qualified teacher of ḥadīth and the head of the teachers in the Holy Mosque.⁽⁶⁾

From his father's information it is clear that he led the prayers and made the speech in the Holy Mosque in his early twenties, as his father died in 1033/1624. Al-Ḥamawī⁽⁷⁾ and ad-Dihlawī⁽⁸⁾, in his work al-Azhār

1. Text, p. 386.

2. Ibid., p. 77.

3. Talass, p. 288.

4. Fol. 90.

5. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 319b.

6. Khabāyā, vol. 84b.

7. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 320a.

8. p. 122.

at-Tayyibat an-Nashr fī Dhikr al-A'yān min Kul 'Asr,
indicate that he led the prayers at al-Maqām in 1031/1621.
They copied this information from the author's father's
work Inbā' al-Bariyya. (1)

Al-'Ujaymī gives an account of the author's daily
programme. He usually started his day by teaching in the
morning until noon. In the afternoons he usually stayed
in his house with his friends, and the rest of the day
he usually spent by reading or writing. (2) He used to
recite during the day and the night invocations, which
were dictated to him by Indian shaykhs. He believed that
he gained from them protection against his enemies. (3)

Al-'Ujaymī again indicates that the author usually
lectured at Bāb az-Ziyāda, one of the main gates of the
Holy Mosque. (4) He tells us also that the author taught
lessons about Ṣaḥīḥ al-Bukhārī and Kitāb ash-Shifā' by
Qādī 'Iyād. (5)

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1. Unfortunately, a number of folios from this
manuscript, which is preserved at al-Ḥaram al-Makkī
Library, are missing. Both al-Ḥamawī and ad-Dihlawī
copied this information before the loss occurred.
 2. Khabāyā, fol. 84b.
 3. Ibid., fol. 85a.
 4. Ibid., loc. cit.
 5. Ibid., loc. cit.

His students

Among those who had learned from the author were:

His sons, Ḥasan⁽¹⁾ (d. 1122/1710) and Muḥammad⁽²⁾ (d. 1163/1750) and 'Abd al-Wahhāb⁽³⁾, who learned from him and from their mother's father 'Ārif b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb. They succeeded their grandfather as the shaykhs of a Sūfī order.⁽⁴⁾

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Asadī ash-Shāfi'ī al-Makkī (d. 1066/1656)⁽⁵⁾ and 'Abd Allāh b. Sālim al-Baṣrī⁽⁶⁾ (d. 1134/1722) and Ḥasan b. 'Alī al-'Ujaymī⁽⁷⁾ (d. 1113/1702) as well as 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad al-'Ayyāshī⁽⁸⁾ (d. 1090/1679) were all taught by the author.⁽⁹⁾

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1. He was a teacher and a muftī as well as Imām al-Maqām in the Holy Mosque of Mecca; Mukhtaṣar, vol. I, p. 128.
 2. Ibid., vol. II, p. 405.
 3. Ibid., vol. I, p. 148.
 4. Khabāyā, fol. 32a.
 5. He was a poet and one of the leading scholars of Qur'ānic recitation in Mecca; Khulāṣat, vol. I, pp. 325ff.
 6. He was one of the leading scholars of hadīth in Mecca; Mukhtaṣar, vol. II, pp. 246ff; 'Ajā'ib, vol. I, p. 84.
 7. He was one of the leading scholars in hadīth in Mecca; Mukhtaṣar, vol. I, pp. 129ff; 'Ajā'ib, vol. I, p. 70.
 8. He was a Moroccan traveller, as well as a man of letters and traditionist and Sūfī scholar; 'Ajā'ib, vol. I, p. 66; M. Ben Cheneb [Ch. Pellat], "al-'Ayyāshī", E.I.².
 9. Khabāyā, fol. 85a.

It can be seen that most of the author's students held high positions in religious education, and they taught students in Mecca and in their own countries.

The author's works

In addition to the present work on the history of Mecca, the author has written a number of treatises (risāla), among them:

1. al-Jawāhir al-Munazzama bi Fadīlat al-Ka'ba al-Mu'azzama⁽¹⁾, which is supposed to be about the excellence of the Ka'ba.

2. Tuhfat al-Kirām bi Akhbār 'Imārat as-Saqf wa l-Bāb li-Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām⁽²⁾, which contains a daily record of the last rebuilding of the Ka'ba, after its collapse from the flood in Sha'bān 1039/April 1630.

3. al-Aqwāl al-Mu'allama fī Wuqū' al-Ka'ba al-Mu'azzama⁽³⁾, its contents might have been on the same subject as the previous risāla. Also there is a reference to it in Ithāf Fudalā' az-Zaman bi Tārīkh Wilāyat Banī al-Ḥasan⁽⁴⁾ by Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Fadl at-Ṭabarī⁽⁵⁾ (d. 1173/1760).

1. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 277a; Khulāṣat, vol. III, p. 161; Hadiyyat, vol. I, p. 759.

2. Text, p. 179; Hadiyyat, vol. I, p. 759.

3. Ibid., loc. cit.; Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol. VII, p. 126.

4. Cairo (Ma'had) Ms. 870, fol. 102b-103b.

5. Mukhtasar, vol. II, pp. 405f.

4. Sayf al-Imāra (or Shann al-Ghāra) 'alā Māni' Nasb as-Sitāra⁽¹⁾, which contains a fatwa for setting up a curtain between prayers and the workers engaged in the rebuilding of the Ka'ba in 1040/1630.

5. Sharḥ as-Ṣudūr wa Tanwīr al-Qulūb bi-l-A'māl al-Mukaffira li-l-Muta'akhhir wa l-Mutaqdim min adh-Dhunūb⁽²⁾, which contains about forty bayts dealing with the excellences of the well of Zānzam, which he himself composed.

6. Fawā'id an-Nayl bi Fadā'il al-Khayl⁽³⁾, which is about the excellences of horses. The author dedicated this work to the Sharīf Thuqba b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan.

7. al-Aqwāl al-Jalīla fī Sharḥ (Risāla) al-Waṣīla⁽⁴⁾, this risāla deals with Sūfism.

1. Text, p. 166; Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol. VII, p. 126.

2. Text, p. 80; Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol. VII, p. 126.

3. A manuscript copy of this work is preserved at Nuru-osmaniye Library in Istanbul, No. 3609/4131, and there is also a microfilm of this manuscript at Cairo (Ma'had).

4. A manuscript copy of this work is preserved at Awqāf Library in Baghdad, No. 3371 (Group 7074/2); Talass, p. 288. Another copy is also at Leiden No. [Or.7022(7), 7059(7)].

Al-'Ujaymī⁽¹⁾ indicates that the author has written a number of works. Among them he includes:

1. Tārīkh Makka, probably he means the present edition.
2. Risāla fī t-Taqlīd.
3. Risāla fī l-Mawlid ash-Sharīf, which probably contains the story of the Prophet's birth.
4. Sharḥ al-Burda, which contains a commentary of Ka'b b. Zuhayr's poem praising the Prophet.
5. Sharḥ Fann al-'Arūd, which was an explanation of prosody.

Al-'Ujaymī himself maintains all these works, this edition included, have been lost.⁽²⁾ However, he again indicates that he saw some of the author's poems and speeches.⁽³⁾

His character

Both al-'Ujaymī⁽⁴⁾ and al-Ḥamawī⁽⁵⁾ maintain that the author had a very good disposition and humble manners. He used to greet everyone who met him in the streets, whether old or young, rich or poor. He also made a point of visiting his friends and relatives on occasions for

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1. Khabāyā, fol. 85a.
 2. Ibid., loc. cit.
 3. Ibid., loc. cit.
 4. Ibid., loc. cit.
 5. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 320a.

congratulation or sickness or to express his condolences. He was a decent man with good breeding.

As a poet he was considered one of the leading poets in Mecca, and was praised by Ibn Ma'sūm⁽¹⁾ and al-Muhibbī⁽²⁾ and ash-Shirwānī.⁽³⁾

His death

The author died after sunrise on Wednesday, 27th of Jumādā II, 1070/10th March 1660, at the age of fifty-eight, which incidentally was the same age as his father on the latter's death.

Thousands of Meccans attended his funeral. He was buried in his family's graveyard in al-Ma'lāt Cemetery.⁽⁴⁾

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1. 'Alī b. Aḥmad b. Ma'sūm, Sulāfat al-'Asr fī Mahāsin A'yān al-'Asr, Arabic manuscript No. 48 at Edinburgh University Library, fol. 27ff.
 2. Khulāṣat, vol. III, pp. 162ff; Nafḥat ar-Rayḥāna wa Rash'ḥat Tilā' al-Hāna (ed. 'Abd al-Fattāḥ M. al-Ḥilū, Cairo, 1969), vol. IV, pp. 41ff.
 3. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad ash-Shirwānī, Hadīqat al-Afrāḥ li-Izāḥat al-Atrāḥ (Calcutta, 1229), pp. 112f.
 4. Fawā'id, vol. III, fol. 320b; Khabāyā, fol. 85a; Khulāṣat, vol. III, p. 166.

CHAPTER II

A SURVEY OF THE WRITING OF MECCAN HISTORY UP TO THE TIME OF 'ALĪ AT-ṬABARĪ

The writing of the history of Mecca started as early as the writing of the Prophet's biography, Sīra.⁽¹⁾ However, consideration here will be given to the writing of local histories.

The work usually mentioned as the first work on the history of Mecca was written by Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh al-Azraqī. However, there have been a number of works recorded earlier than al-Azraqī. Among those are Kitāb Hisār ibn az-Zubayr⁽²⁾ and Kitāb Maqtal 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr⁽³⁾ by Abū Mikhnaḥ Lūṭ b. Yaḥyā b. Mikhnaḥ⁽⁴⁾ (d. 157/773), and Hadhiḥ (Ḥadhiq) Nasab Quraysh⁽⁵⁾ by Mu'arrij b. 'Amr as-Sadūsī⁽⁶⁾ (d. 195/810), which was an abridgement of Qurayshite nasab.

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1. There are a number of works dealing with the beginning of writing of Sīra, e.g. cf. G. Levi Della Vida, "Sīra", E.I.¹.
 2. Fihrist, p. 137.
 3. Ibid., loc. cit.
 4. Irshād, vol. VI, pp. 220ff; Fawāt, vol. II, pp. 288f.
 5. Irshād, vol. VII, p. 194; Wafayāt, vol. II, p. 130; this work was edited and published by Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn al-Munajjid (Cairo, Dār al-'Uruba, 1960).
 6. Irshād, vol. VII, pp. 193f; Wafayāt, vol. II, pp. 130f.

It was also mentioned that Wahb b. Wahb b. Kathīr al-Asadī⁽¹⁾ (d. 200/815) had written two works on the subject, those are Kitāb Tasim wa Jadīs⁽²⁾ and Kitāb Nasab wild Ismā'il b. Ibrāhīm.⁽³⁾

Hishām b. Muḥammad b. as-Sā'ib al-Kalbī⁽⁴⁾ (d. 204/819) also wrote numerous works on the subject which were listed by Ibn an-Nadīm.⁽⁵⁾ Ibn an-Nadīm, however, has recorded some earlier works, among them Kitāb Hafr Zamzam⁽⁶⁾ by Abū Hudhayfa Ishāq b. Bishr al-Hāshimī al-Bukhārī⁽⁷⁾ (d. 206/821) and Kitāb Akhbār Makka⁽⁸⁾ by Muḥammad b. 'Umar al-Wāqidī⁽⁹⁾ (d. 207/823). Al-Ḥasan b. Maḥbūb as-Sarrād (az-Zarrād)⁽¹⁰⁾ (d. 224/839) has written a work entitled Kitāb Dhikr al-Ka'ba.⁽¹¹⁾ Ibn an-Nadīm

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1. Irshād, vol. VII, pp. 232f; Wafayāt, vol. II, pp. 181ff.
 2. Fihrist, p. 146; Irshād, loc. cit.
 3. Fihrist, p. 147; Irshād, loc. cit.
 4. Wafayāt, vol. II, pp. 195f; Irshād, vol. VII, pp. 250ff.
 5. Fihrist, pp. 140-43.
 6. Ibid., p. 137.
 7. Tārīkh Baghdād, vol. VI, pp. 326ff; Irshād, vol. II, pp. 230ff.
 8. Fihrist, p. 144.
 9. Tārīkh Baghdād, vol. III, pp. 3ff; Tadhkirat, vol. I, p. 348.
 10. A'yān ash-Shī'a, vol. XXIII, p. 51.
 11. Fihrist, p. 310.

also mentioned three works of Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā at-Taymī al-Baṣrī⁽¹⁾ (d. 209/824), which were entitled Kitāb Makka wa l-Haram and Kitāb Qisat al-Ka'ba and Kitāb al-Humis min Quraysh.⁽²⁾ Al-Haytham b. 'Adī (d. 207/822)⁽³⁾ wrote a book entitled Kitāb Buyūtāt Quraysh.⁽⁴⁾ Ibn al-Yazīdī, Ibrāhīm b. Yahyā b. al-Mubārak al-'Adawī⁽⁵⁾ (d. 225/840) wrote a work entitled Kitāb Binā' al-Ka'ba wa Akhbārihā.⁽⁶⁾ 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-Madā'inī⁽⁷⁾ (d. 225/840) also wrote four books entitled Kitāb Binā' al-Ka'ba, Kitāb Makka, Kitāb Nasab Quraysh wa Akhbārihā, and Kitāb Khabr Khuzā'a.⁽⁸⁾ Ismā'īl b. 'Isā al-'Aṭṭār⁽⁹⁾ (d. 232/847) wrote a book entitled Kitāb Hafr Zamzam.⁽¹⁰⁾ All these books recorded by Ibn an-Nadīm seem to be lost, and none of the later historians refer to them, with the exception of al-Azraqī's reference to

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1. Tārīkh Baghdād, vol. XIII, p. 252; Wafayāt, vol. II, pp. 105ff.
 2. Fihrist, p. 80.
 3. Irshād, vol. VII, p. 261ff; Wafayāt, vol. II, pp. 203ff.
 4. Fihrist, p. 145.
 5. Tārīkh Baghdād, vol. VI, p. 209; Irshād, vol. I, pp. 360ff.
 6. Fihrist, p. 75.
 7. Tārīkh Baghdād, vol. XII, p. 54; Irshād, vol. V, pp. 309ff.
 8. Fihrist, p. 151f.
 9. Tārīkh Baghdād, vol. VI, p. 262.
 10. Fihrist, p. 159.

al-Kalbī and al-Wāqidī in his isnād, and al-Fāsī also refers to Ma'mar b. al-Muthannā through az-Zubayr b. Bakkār⁽¹⁾, and sometimes without az-Zubayr's authority⁽²⁾, when he was dealing with pre-Islamic Meccan history, which probably indicates that some of Ma'mar's works were in the hands of al-Fāsī.

However, the first work of Meccan history to include the history of the Ka'ba, and the Holy Mosque, and the surrounding area of the Ḥaram, was the work of al-Azraqī. This makes it the earliest surviving general history of Mecca.

Abū l-Walīd Muḥammad b. 'Abd Allāh b. Aḥmad al-Azraqī (d. ca. 247/861), was a native Meccan historian, and his work was entitled Akḥbār Makka wa mā jā' fīhā min al-Athār. In this work al-Azraqī followed the system of traditionists which makes use of the isnād, which gives reports through numerous transmitters from whom he gained his information. Most of his information was gained from his grandfather Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Azraqī (d. 222/837), who was regarded as a reliable transmitter, and one of the trusted friends of ash-Shāfi'ī.⁽³⁾

1. Shifā', vol. II, pp. 63, 70, 71, 72, 84.

2. Ibid., vol. II, p. 86.

3. Tahdhīb, vol. I, p. 79.

Al-Azraqī's isnād ends many times with Ibn 'Abbās and sometimes with Ibn Ishāq and Ka'b al-Aḥbār⁽¹⁾ and Wahb b. Munabbih⁽²⁾, and al-Wāqidī, and others.

Most of al-Azraqī's sources have been lost, except some works of Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī. Some of Ibn Ishāq's work is preserved by Ibn Hishām, in his work Sīrat Rasūl Allāh, which mainly concerned the Prophet's career, as does the work of al-Wāqidī which deals with the history of the military expeditions of the Prophet, Kitāb al-Maghāzī. Al-Azraqī quoted from Ibn Ishāq considerable information about pre-Islamic Meccan history, which goes back to the beginning of life on earth, and was omitted by Ibn Hishām. He also quoted from al-Wāqidī some information which goes back to the same period.

Thus al-Azraqī is considered one of the early transmitters of both Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī, and most of al-Azraqī's information gained from al-Wāqidī comes from Muḥammad b. Idrīs ash-Shāfi'ī (al-Imām ash-Shāfi'ī).⁽³⁾

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1. Ka'b b. Māti' al-Ḥimyarī, a Jewish scholar from Yemen, converted to Islam and died in 32 A.H. Tadhkirat, vol. I, p. 52; Tahdhīb, vol. VIII, pp. 438ff.
 2. Wahb b. Munabbih, Abū 'Abd Allāh aṣ-Ṣan'ānī (d. 114/732), was another scholar from Yemen, who reported from the Old Testament and the Bible, as well as from the Ṣaḥāba; Tadhkirat, vol. I, pp. 100f; Tahdhīb, vol. XI, pp. 166ff.
 3. e.g., al-Azraqī, Aḥbār Makka, vol. I, pp. 274, 122, 127, 129.

It is noticeable that many of al-Azraqī's quotations from Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī coincide literally with Ibn Hishām's riwāya in the Sīra,⁽¹⁾ and al-Wāqidī in his work al-Maghāzī.⁽²⁾ In the case of al-Wāqidī the exact transmitters whom al-Wāqidī gained his information from are found in al-Azraqī's work. This seems to establish that al-Azraqī is a reliable transmitter for both Ibn Ishāq and al-Wāqidī, and leads to confidence in his riwāya for other transmitters used in his work.

Al-Azraqī makes his role in this work that of a collector of information from a number of transmitters, without giving his judgement or opinion. However, this was the method of the muhaddithīn, which was followed during his time. This method was also adopted by later historians like Ibn Jarīr at-Ṭabarī. He divided his work into many subjects, and after the sub-title, he enumerates his riwāya from different transmitters, according to the subject.

Al-Azraqī's main interest is to establish the topographical history of Mecca, and this is the major concern of the whole work. The historical events are rarely mentioned, only when related to topographical history. This probably indicates that Mecca has lost its political role after the Prophet's conquest, when central power was moved to Medina, then to Damascus, and later to

1. Ibid. (e.g.), vol. I, pp. 81ff, 141ff, 169, vol. II, pp. 44ff; cf. Ibn Hishām, Sīra, vol. I, pp. 71f, 28ff, vol. II, p. 273, vol. I, pp. 89ff.

2. e.g., al-Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. I, pp. 122f, 123, 127f, 129f; cf. al-Wāqidī, al-Maghāzī, vol. II, pp. 841f, 870f, vol. III, 873f, 890f.

Baghdad. Secondly, Mecca was not a suitable place for central power because of its remote distance from the new conquests. This was one of the reasons for al-Azraqī's neglect of political events, and his giving particular attention to the topographical history. Secondly, he tries to show the Meccans' pride in living among the Holy Places, in spite of losing power.

The importance of al-Azraqī's work comes from its being the earliest work which gives detailed descriptions of the Ka'ba and the Holy Mosque and surrounding area of the Haram. He describes the Ka'ba, giving details about its buildings and its measurements, inside and outside, and the description of its interior, its cover (kiswa) and its floor, and its door, and the black stone, and the Hijr and its measurements. He did the same with the Holy Mosque, giving full details of its contents, like Abraham's site (Maqām Ibrāhīm) and the well of Zamzam, and the measurement of the Holy Mosque and its buildings and extensions, and its gates and columns and minarets, etc. He also deals with aṣ-Ṣafā and al-Marwa. He also mentions the boundaries of the Haram and the Holy places in Mecca, their borders, the wells and springs, and quarters and cemeteries and mountain paths. He does, however, include some description of floods in Mecca, and some political events.

Secondly, al-Azraqī collected a lot of information which had been scattered between fiqh and hadīth and historical works, in one well-organised work, and he has preserved a considerable amount of the riwāya from a number of missing works.

This work was the main source for Meccan history for about five centuries, in spite of the existence of al-Fākihī's work, until al-Fāsī presented his works. This is clear from the number of copies of this work in a number of libraries, while al-Fākihī's work is available only in a unique manuscript. It seems that Meccan scholars were satisfied with this work. None of them tried to write similar works for a long time, except al-Fākihī, who referred to al-Azraqī several times without acknowledgement.

Two Meccan scholars have reported this work and added some later information. The first is Ishāq b. Aḥmad b. Ishāq b. Nāfi' al-Khuzā'i⁽¹⁾ (d. 308/921), and the second is his nephew Muḥammad b. Nāfi' b. Aḥmad al-Khuzā'i⁽²⁾ (d. ca. 351/962), who were both descendants of Nāfi' b. 'Abd al-Ḥārith al-Khuzā'i⁽³⁾, a Meccan Amīr during the reign of the caliph 'Umar b. al-Khaṭṭāb.

According to al-Fāsī⁽⁴⁾, Ishāq was described by adh-Dhahabī as a reliable authority. He added some information to al-Azraqī's work, on matters which had happened after al-Azraqī, concerned with the same subjects

1. He was a Meccan reciter; 'Ibar, vol. II, pp. 136f; 'Iqd, vol. III, pp. 290f.

2. 'Iqd, vol. II, p. 379.

3. Ibn 'Abd al-Barr, Isti'āb, vol. III, pp. 539f; Ibn Hajar, Isāba, vol. III, p. 545.

4. 'Iqd, vol. III, p. 290.

which had been reported by al-Azraqī. Thus his additions deal with the restoration of the Ka'ba⁽¹⁾, and Hījr⁽²⁾, and the addition to the Holy Mosque.⁽³⁾ He also added some information relating to some places near Mecca⁽⁴⁾, as well as mentioning floods⁽⁵⁾ which happened after al-Azraqī.

He sometimes added another account similar to al-Azraqī's, by another transmitter⁽⁶⁾; also he completed some of al-Azraqī's accounts⁽⁷⁾, or confirmed that he had heard a similar account.⁽⁸⁾ He sometimes corrects and criticises al-Azraqī's accounts⁽⁹⁾, as well as explaining the meaning of difficult words.⁽¹⁰⁾

His nephew, Muḥammad, made three additions:

1) In 310/922, the caliph's mother ordered her servant Lu'lu' to cover the Ka'ba's ma'ālīq with gold.⁽¹¹⁾

1. For example, see al-Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. I, p. 263.

2. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 314, 317.

3. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 109, 253.

4. Ibid., vol. II, p. 209.

5. Ibid., vol. II, p. 89.

6. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 50, 341.

7. Ibid., vol. I, p. 108.

8. Ibid., vol. II, p. 152.

9. Ibid., vol. II, p. 198.

10. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 329, 341.

11. Ibid., vol. I, p. 293.

2) The addition of Bāb Ibrāhīm to the Holy Mosque, in 306/918. (1)

3) Adding to his uncle's addition about the addition of Dār an-Nadwa, in 306/918. (2)

This work was shortened by two writers:

1. Sa'd ad-Dīn b. 'Umar al-Asfarā'inī (eighth century/fourteenth century). It seems that he completed his abridgement on 13th Ṣafar 762/23rd December 1360. (3) His abridgement was entitled Zubdat al-A'māl wa Khulāṣat al-Af'āl. (4)

This work was divided into two chapters. The first is about the excellence of the Ka'ba, which contains fifty-four sections. The second is about the excellence of Medina, which contains twenty-five sections. Therefore, the first chapter is his abridgement of al-Azraqī's history of Mecca. Al-Asfrā'inī neglected, here, the historical material and concentrated on the excellences

1. al-Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. II, p. 92.

2. Ibid., vol. II, pp. 112f.

3. British Museum Ms., fol. 2a. However, there are other dates which appear after this completion date, in fol. 63a (779 A.H.) and in fol. 93a (27th of Rabī' II 762), which indicated that he probably started his abridgement on 23rd Ṣafar 762, and made some additions after that date.

4. There are copies of this work at British Museum, Or. 3034; Paris, 1631; Berlin, 9751; and Mecca, 99 Tārīkh.

of the Ḥajj and 'Umra. This abridgement, in fact, is not only an abridgement of al-Azraqī's work, but is an abridgement of previous works. He mentioned some information gained by later scholars, some of whom were his teachers; he also mentioned a lot of Ṣūfī stories in his work.

2. The second abridgement was done by Yahyā b. Muḥammad al-Karmānī⁽¹⁾ (d. 833/1430). He completed his abridgement in Sha'bān 821/September 1418. Its title is Mukhtaṣar Tārīkh Makka al-Musharrafa li-l-Imām Abī l-Walīd al-Azraqī.⁽²⁾

In this abridgement, al-Karmānī omitted the isnād and some appendices, and added some information to the work.⁽³⁾

Al-Azraqī's history was also put into verse by 'Abd al-Malik b. Aḥmad al-Anṣārī al-Armantī⁽⁴⁾, which was entitled Nazm Tārīkh Makka li-l-Azraqī fī Urjūza.⁽⁵⁾

Meanwhile, most of the works of the history of Mecca which were done after al-Azraqī, depend mainly on him, and most of them dealt with the excellences of Mecca.

1. Daw', vol. X, pp. 259ff.

2. A copy of this work is available in Berlin, 9752.

3. Malḥas' introduction to al-Azraqī's Akḥbār Makka, p. 19.

4. An Egyptian scholar, and a Shāfi'ite jurist; Durar, vol. II, pp. 414f.

5. According to Malḥas this work has been lost; p. 20.

However, two of 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr's descendants contributed to the history of Mecca, by giving details about the lineage of Quraysh, both of whom were authorities in this field. The first is Muṣ'ab b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muṣ'ab b. Thābit b. 'Abd Allāh b. az-Zubayr⁽¹⁾ (d. 236/851). Muṣ'ab's work is entitled Nasab Quraysh⁽²⁾, which starts with their great-great-grandfather, Ma'd b. 'Adnān, and his sons and their descendants until he reached Quraysh and its branches. In his division, he usually starts with the person's sons and their mothers and his daughters and their husbands and their sons. He gives a short biography for each person, sometimes with poetry relating to them.

Muṣ'ab was followed by his nephew az-Zubayr b. Bakkār⁽³⁾ (d. 256/870), who followed in his work

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1. A highly regarded scholar, born in Medina (156/773), and settled in Baghdad until his death. Az-Zubayr b. Bakkār, Jamharat Nasab Quraysh (ed. Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir, Cairo, 1961), vol. I, pp. 203ff; Tārīkh Baghdād, vol. XIII, pp. 112ff.
 2. This work is edited by E. Lévi-Provençal, published in Cairo by Dār al-Ma'ārif, 1953.
 3. A Meccan qādī (242-256/856-870), born in Medina and died in Mecca, visited Baghdad several times; Tārīkh Baghdād, vol. VIII, pp. 467ff; Wafayāt, vol. I, p. 236. Cf. the introduction of his work Jamharat Nasab Quraysh by Maḥmūd Muḥammad Shākir (Cairo, Maktabat Dār al-'Urūba, 1961), vol. I, pp. 3ff.

Jamharat Nasab Quraysh the system of his uncle, by dividing the Qurayshite nasab, and he extended this by giving more information about the biographee's character, and his status. Sometimes he mentioned some poetry said by the biographee or said in praise of him.

The importance of these two works is remarkable for their historical information, and they are among the early sources for the history of Mecca in the pre-Islamic period as well as the Islamic period until their times. Thus these works became one of the main sources for early historians like al-Fākihī and at-Ṭabarī and al-Balādhurī.

Ibn an-Nadīm, again, mentioned that Aḥmad b. 'Umar, known as Ibn al-Khaṣṣāf⁽¹⁾ (d. 261/875), wrote a book entitled Kitāb Dhar'u al-Ka'ba wa l-Masjid wa l-Qabr⁽²⁾, which from its title appears to deal with the measurements of the Ka'ba and the Holy Mosque and the Prophet's tomb. It is not known whether he measured them himself or copied their measurements from al-Azraqī and others, because no one has referred to this work, and it seems that it has been lost.

'Umar b. Shabba⁽³⁾ (d. 262/876) also has contributed to the history of Mecca, by writing two books, entitled

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1. A jurisprudent and specialist in farā'id (law of descent and distribution) and was respected by the 'Abbāsid Caliph al-Muhtadī; A'lām, vol. I, p. 178.
 2. Fihrist, pp. 290f.
 3. An early reporter, was described as a reliable transmitter, died in Sāmarrā; Tahdhīb, vol. II, pp. 516f; Irshād, vol. VI, p. 48.

Kitāb Makka and Kitāb Umarā' Makka.⁽¹⁾ Ibn Hajar refers to the first work in his book, al-Isāba fī Tamyīz as-Sahāba⁽²⁾, as well as Samhūdī⁽³⁾ (d. 911/1506) and Ibn Zuhayra⁽⁴⁾ (d. 986/1578). As-Sakhāwī⁽⁵⁾ mentioned it was similar to al-Azraqī's work and was recorded by Ibn Fahd (d. 885/1480) in one volume. Meanwhile, this work was not available to al-Fāsī for reference, but he shared as-Sakhāwī's belief in its similarity to al-Azraqī's work.⁽⁶⁾

Muhammad b. Ishāq al-Fākihī (d. ca. 272/885) is usually considered the second Meccan historian, after al-Azraqī. His work is entitled Akhbār Makka⁽⁷⁾, and in the Leiden manuscript, the title is Tārīkh Makka⁽⁸⁾,

1. Fihrist, p. 163.

2. For example, cf. vol. I, p. 409.

3. Samhūdī, 'Alī b. Aḥmad, Wafā' al-Wafā' bi Akbār Dār al-Mustafā (ed. Muḥammad Muḥyī ad-Dīn, Muṭba'at as-Sa'āda, Cairo, 1955), pp. 49, 50, 54, 1311.

4. Jāmi', pp. 13, 18, 110.

5. I'lān, p. 280.

6. 'Iqd, vol. I, p. 10.

7. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 410f.

8. In the library of Leiden University in the Netherlands, (Or 463). A small portion of this manuscript, which contains some information not found in al-Azraqī, has been edited by F. Wüstenfeld, Die Chroniken der Stadt Mekka (Leipzig, 1857-61), vol. II, pp. 3-51.

whereas in al-Fihrist of Ibn an-Nadīm it is Kitāb Makka wa Akhbārihā fī l-Jāhiliyya wa l-Islām.⁽¹⁾

The second half of this work is preserved in the library of the University of Leiden (Or 463). The year 272/885 is the latest date in the manuscript, which is probably the date that al-Fākihī completed his work.⁽²⁾ In that year, he mentioned the building of the Holy Mosque by al-Muwaffaq.

He was in contact with leading scholars of Mecca, from whom he gained his information, some of whom were not reported by al-Azraqī.

The arrangement of his work is similar to al-Azraqī's arrangement, but al-Fākihī extended his work by giving more details about political and social Meccan life.⁽³⁾ He also added to al-Azraqī's information.⁽⁴⁾

He also followed the method of isnād, and some of his accounts started with (بعض أهل مكة) or

(بعض المكيين). Sometimes such introductions are, in fact, direct quotations from al-Azraqī's account.⁽⁵⁾

Al-Fākihī, in fact, used al-Azraqī's material literally, in many places in his work, without acknowledgement

1. p. 159.

2. Ms. fol. 367.

3. Wüstenfeld edition, e.g. vol. II, pp. 4-5, 7-10, 26-30, 35-44.

4. Ms., e.g. fol. 367.

5. Ms., e.g. fols. 347b, 363. Cf. al-Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. I, p. 286, vol. II, p. 72.

to him or to his family, and he tries to hide his unauthorised use by referring to al-Azraqī with these statements. He also referred to al-Azraqī's great-grandfather as (رجل من غسان)⁽¹⁾ as al-Azraqī claimed that he was a descendant of the Ghassanid kings. The reason for this, as mentioned by F. Rosenthal⁽²⁾, probably related to some personal enmity between him and the al-Azraqīs and their circle, or the latter may have refused him permission to make use of the material in their possession at any rate. This personal enmity probably can be proved, as the al-Khuzā'īs never mentioned al-Fākihī or his additions to al-Azraqī's work, even when, sometimes, they share the same additions and similar descriptions.⁽³⁾

Secondly, the use of the word *دّعى* (claim)⁽⁴⁾, when he refers to al-Azraqī, may indicate some sort of enmity.

However, the additions of al-Fākihī give valuable information, especially about the political and social life, which has been neglected by al-Azraqī. This gives some indication of the personal attitudes of both al-Azraqī and al-Fākihī.

The first half of this work seems to be lost, which probably contains more valuable additions and information. Even in the second half of this work, it is

1. Ms. fols. 347b, 364b. Cf. al-Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. I, p. 286, vol. II, p. 74.

2. F. Rosenthal, "al-Fākihī", E.I.².

3. Ms. fol. 350, cf. al-Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. II, p. 103f.

4. fol. 364b, cf. al-Azraqī, Akhbār Makka, vol. II, p. 74.

noticeable that al-Fākihī's additions are more than the al-Khuzā'īs' additions, in spite of the latter's living after him.

The whole work was in the hand of al-Fāsī for reference and it is described by Sakhāwī as consisting of two volumes.⁽¹⁾ This work was neglected until al-Fāsī used it as one of his sources, and it seems that nobody has added to it or shortened it, as has been done to al-Azraqī's work. However, we found a few references to it in al-Asfarā'inī's Zubdat al-A'māl⁽²⁾, an abridgement of al-Azraqī's history, and Brockelmann⁽³⁾ mentioned that 'Umar b. 'Abd al-Majīd al-Mayānīshī⁽⁴⁾ (d. 581/1185) has reviewed al-Fākihī's history.

Al-Fāsī's use of this work seems to be after his completion of the first draft of his work Shifā' al-Gharām bi Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām.⁽⁵⁾ Al-Fāsī describes al-Fākihī's work as excellent for its valuable information and additions. He maintains that al-Azraqī's work needs it as a supplement, whereas it can dispense with al-Azraqī's work. He also describes al-Fākihī as a distinguished person.⁽⁶⁾

1. I'lān, p. 280.

2. British Museum Ms. fol. 74b, 81a.

3. GAL, Supp. I, p. 634.

4. 'Ibar, vol. IV, p. 245; 'Iqd, vol. VI, pp. 334 ff.

5. vol. II, p. 296.

6. 'Iqd, vol. I, p. 411.

Ibn an-Nadīm also indicates that 'Ubayd Allāh b. Muḥammad b. 'Ubayd (d. 281/894) has written a book on the history of Mecca, entitled Kitāb Akhbār Quraysh⁽¹⁾; in addition Muḥammad b. Mas'ūd al-'Ayyāshī⁽²⁾ (d. ca. 320/932) has written two books, Kitāb Makka wa l-Haram and Kitāb al-Ka'ba.⁽³⁾

Furthermore, Sakhāwī, in his book al-I'lān bi-t-Tawbīkh li-man Dhamm at-Tārīkh⁽⁴⁾, mentioned a number of writers who wrote about Meccan history, among them al-Mufaḍḍal b. Muḥammad b. Ibrāhīm al-Janadī⁽⁵⁾ (d. 308/920) but Sakhāwī does not indicate the title of the work, whereas al-Fāsī⁽⁶⁾ said that it was entitled Kitāb Fadā'il Makka; however, Sakhāwī maintains that this work is similar to al-Azraqī's work. This work was used by al-Fāsī, and he refers to it sometimes according to its title, and sometimes as Akhbār Makka. It is not known

1. Fihrist, p. 262.

2. A well known Shī'ite jurisprudent from Samarqand; A'lām, vol. VII, p. 316.

3. Fihrist, p. 274f.

4. pp. 279-83.

5. He was one of the leading scholars in Mecca during his time, especially in Hadīth, and he had a class in the Holy Mosque. His family was from Yemen; 'Iqd, vol. VII, pp. 266f; A'lām, vol. VII, p. 204.

6. 'Iqd, loc. cit.

whether these two titles indicate two books by al-Janadī, or only one book.⁽¹⁾

Sakhāwī also mentions that 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad (Abī Ḥātim) ar-Rāzī⁽²⁾ (d. 327/938) wrote a book entitled Kitāb Makka.⁽³⁾

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad b. Ziyād, Abū Sa'īd Ibn al-A'rābī⁽⁴⁾ d. (340/952) and 'Abd ar-Rahmān b. Muḥammad b. Ishāq Ibn Manda al-'Abdī al-Iṣbahānī⁽⁵⁾ (d. 470/1078) are mentioned by Sakhāwī as having written works on Meccan history, but he does not indicate their titles.⁽⁶⁾ Sakhāwī also mentioned⁽⁷⁾ that Razīn b. Mu'āwiya b. 'Ammār al-'Abdarī

1. Shifā', vol. I (Faḍā'il), pp. 81, 85, 176, 293;

vol. I (Akḥbār), p. 201; vol. II, p. 6.

2. He was considered an authority of ḥadīth; Tadhkirat, vol. III, pp. 829ff; A'lām, vol. IV, p. 99.

3. I'lān, p. 281.

4. He was one of the Ṣūfī shaykhs as well as a traditionist, was born in Baṣra and settled in Mecca where he died. Tadhkirat, vol. III, pp. 852f; 'Iqd, vol. III, pp. 137f.

5. He was a traditionist as well as a historian; Tadhkirat, vol. III, p. 1165; Fawāt, vol. I, p. 543.

6. I'lān, p. 282.

7. Ibid., p. 280.

as-Sarqustī al-Andalusī⁽¹⁾ (d. 535/1140) has written a work on Meccan history, and again he does not indicate its title, whereas al-Fāsī gave it as Akhbār Makka⁽²⁾, and both al-Fāsī and Sakhāwī confirm that it was an abridgement of al-Azraqī's work.

'Abd ar-Rahmān b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad, known as Ibn al-Jawzī⁽³⁾ (d. 597/1201) has written a book on the history of Mecca, which is entitled Muthīr al-Gharām (al-'Azim) as-Sākin ilā Ashraf al-Āmākin.⁽⁴⁾ It was used by Muḥib ad-Dīn at-Ṭabarī (d. 694/1295) through whom al-Fāsī referred to it.⁽⁵⁾ This work was in the hands of Ibn Zuhayra for reference.⁽⁶⁾ It seems from its title and from at-Ṭabarī's quotations from it, that

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1. His family was from Saragossa in Spain and settled in Mecca, where he died. He was a Malikite Imām in the Holy Mosque; 'Iqd, vol. IV, p. 398; Tadhkirat, vol. IV, p. 1281.
 2. 'Iqd, loc. cit.
 3. One of the great scholars of his time, especially in history and hadīth; Tadhkirat, vol. IV, pp. 342ff; Wafayāt, vol. I, p. 350; I'lān, p. 281.
 4. For the copies of this work, see quotation from GAL, Supp. II, p. 290: "Berl. Oct. 1452, Dam:Z, 82 ('Um 87) 46, Kairo² V, 322, Rāmpūr II, 323, 635."
 5. Shifā', vol. I, pp. 15, 190; cf. Muḥib ad-Dīn at-Ṭabarī, al-Qira li-Qāṣid Umm al-Qarā (ed. Muṣṭafā as-Saqqā, Cairo, 1970), pp. 272, 648.
 6. Jāmi', pp. 104, 165, 219.

this work deals with the Ḥajj and the excellences of Mecca.

Al-Muhib, Muḥammad b. Maḥmūd Ibn an-Najjār⁽¹⁾ (d. 643/1245) wrote a work entitled Nuzhat al-warā fī Akhbār (Dhikr) Umm al-Qurā.⁽²⁾ Sakhāwī⁽³⁾ mentioned that al-Ḥāfiẓ al-Maqdisī, probably Muḥammad b. 'Abd al-Wāḥid as-Sa'dī al-Maqdisī al-Hanbalī⁽⁴⁾ (d. 643/1245) had also written a book on the history of Mecca.

Al-Fāsī⁽⁵⁾ indicates that Zayd b. Ḥāshim b. 'Alī al-Murtadā al-'Alawī al-Ḥasanī (d. ca. 676/1277), wazīr of Medina, also wrote a work on the history of Mecca; in fact, al-Fāsī was unable to consult this work, because of its disappearance, but he refers to a letter from Zayd to Abū al-'Abbās Aḥmad al-Muyūriqī, in which Zayd maintains that he wrote about five booklets on the history of Mecca, which were not known to al-Fāsī. However, al-Fāsī refers to that letter in his book Shifā' al-Gharām.⁽⁶⁾

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1. He was a traditionist and historian and wrote a supplement to Tārīkh Baghdād; Tadhkirat, vol. IV, pp. 1428ff; Fawāt, vol. II, pp. 522f.
 2. Ibid., loc. cit.
 3. I'lān, p. 280.
 4. He was a highly regarded traditionist, was born in Damascus and died there; Tadhkirat, vol. IV, pp. 1405f; Fawāt, vol. II, p. 471.
 5. Shifā', vol. I, p. 5.
 6. Ibid., vol. II, p. 272.

Muhib ad-Dīn Aḥmad b. 'Abd Allāh at-Ṭabarī⁽¹⁾ and his son Muḥammad⁽²⁾ (both d. 694/1295) contributed to the history of Mecca. Muhib ad-Dīn's work is entitled al-Qirā li-Qāṣid Umm al-Qurā.⁽³⁾ In spite of this work being about the Hajj, there is some brief historical information in it, which has been summarised from al-Azraqī's work. However, he has not brought the historical information up to his own time. There is no information available to us about the work of his son, which is entitled at-Tashwīq ilā ziyārat al-Bayt al-'Atīq⁽⁴⁾, but al-Fāsī⁽⁵⁾ indicates its contents were about the Hajj, so that, probably, it was similar to his father's work.

Al-Fāsī also mentioned that Muḥammad b. Maḥfūz b. Muḥammad b. Ghālī al-Juhanī ash-Shubaykī al-Makkī⁽⁶⁾

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1. He was considered a shaykh al-Hijāz for his high status in religious sciences, and was respected by the king of Yemen, al-Muzaffar Yūsuf b. 'Umar b. Rasūl (647-694/1249-1294). Tadhkirat, vol. IV, pp. 1474f; 'Iqd, vol. III, pp. 61ff.
 2. He was a Meccan qādī and muftī and traditionist; 'Iqd, vol. I, pp. 294f.
 3. This work has been edited by Muṣṭafā as-Saqqā and published in Cairo, 1970.
 4. 'Iqd, loc. cit.; I'lān, p. 281.
 5. 'Iqd, loc. cit.
 6. Ibid., vol. II, p. 348.

(d. ca. 770/1368) had written two booklets about the history of Mecca. The first started from the end of the rule of the Hāshimites (a branch of the Sharīf's family, ruling Mecca), which happened around 597/1200, until around the end of the seventh/thirteenth century, with some gaps for many of the years. The second starts from 725/1325 and goes on until the end of the sixties of that century.

Al-Fāsī refers to these booklets in his book Shifā' al-Gharām⁽¹⁾; from al-Fāsī's reference, it is noticeable that Ibn Maḥfūz -- as al-Fāsī calls him -- was interested in recording the historical events as well as the social and economic events.

Muḥammad b. Ya'qūb ash-Shīrāzī al-Fayrūzābādī⁽²⁾ (d. 817/1415) wrote about the different names given to Mecca and their backgrounds from the view of a language specialist⁽³⁾; also as a traditionist and historian, he wrote a number of works, among them:

1. al-Waṣl wa l-Munā fī Fadā'il (Fadīl) Minā, which deals with the excellences of Minā. In spite of

1. Vol. II, pp. 200, 206, 232, 237, 240, 241, 242, 245, 267, 271, 272, 273, 274.

2. He was born in Kāzrūn (of Shīrāz) and travelled to several countries. He was appointed as qādī of Zubayd in Yemen; 'Iqd, vol. II, pp. 392ff; Daw', vol. X, pp. 79ff.

3. Shifā', vol. I, pp. 47ff.

being related to Minā, this work seems from al-Fāsī's references to deal with other places in Mecca, too.⁽¹⁾

2. Muhīj al-Gharām ilā al-Balad al-Ḥarām⁽²⁾, there is no information available to us about this work, but from its title it probably dealt with the Hajj.

3. Ithārat ash-Shujūn ilā Ziyārat al-Ḥajūn, which, according to al-Fāsī, was about the excellences of al-Ḥajūn, a mountain in eastern Mecca, where a number of the Sahāba were buried, that is in Ma'lāt cemetery.⁽³⁾ This work was not available to al-Fāsī.

Al-Fayrūzābādī's contributions were related to his liking of Mecca, so that he called himself al-Multajī' ilā Ḥaram Allāh Ta'ālā⁽⁴⁾, and paid several visits to Mecca; on one of them he stayed for six years. He wished to die and be buried in Mecca, but unfortunately he did not gain this desire as he died in Zubayd. He also established a religious school in Mecca in 803/1400.

Three other writers were mentioned by Sakhāwī as having written books on the history of Mecca:

The first was al-Hādī b. Ibrāhīm b. 'Alī b. al-Murtadā al-Ḥasanī az-Zaydī⁽⁵⁾ (d. 822/1419). His

1. Shifā', vol. I, pp. 127, 199.

2. 'Iqd, vol. II, p. 396; I'lān, p. 282; Daw', vol. X, p. 82.

3. 'Iqd, vol. II, p. 394, 396.

4. Ibid., vol. II, p. 399.

5. He was a man of letters from Yemen; Daw', vol. X, p. 206.

works were entitled Zahrat al-Khuzām fī Fadā'il al-Bayt al-Harām⁽¹⁾ and at-Tarāzayn al-Mu'alamayn fī Fadā'il al-Haramayn al-Muharamayn.⁽²⁾ There is no information on them available to us, but from their titles, it seems that they were concerned with the excellences of Mecca and the Holy Mosque.

The second was Muḥammad b. 'Alī az-Zubaydī an-Nāsikh, known as Ibn al-Mu'adhdhin.⁽³⁾ His work was entitled Muthīr al-Gharām ilā al-Balad al-Harām; there is no information on it either, but it seems that it dealt with the Hajj.

The third was the keeper of the Ka'ba, Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. Muḥammad al-'Abdarī ash-Shaybī⁽⁴⁾ (d. 827/1424); his work is entitled ash-Sharaf al-A'lā fī Dhikr (Qubūr) Maqbarat Bāb al-Ma'lā.⁽⁵⁾

However, the most remarkable Meccan historian was Abū at-Ṭayyib Taqī ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Alī al-Fāsī⁽⁶⁾ (d. 832/1429), not only for his number of works he has done on the history of Mecca, but also for his scholarly capability. Al-Fāsī is considered one of

1. I'lān, p. 281.

2. Daw', loc. cit.

3. I'lān, loc. cit.

4. 'Iqd, vol. II, pp. 199f; Daw', vol. VIII, p. 182.

5. I'lān, p. 282; Berlin, 6124.

6. Lahz, pp. 291ff; Daw', vol. VII, pp. 18ff; 'Iqd, vol. I, pp. 331ff.

the greatest Muslim historians, even though he does not contribute much to general Islamic history, but his works on the history of Mecca were considered as highly scholarly achievements.

In both using material and discussing historical matters, al-Fāsī followed the accurate historical method in presenting his works. Al-Fāsī faced a big gap in the history of Mecca, most of which he covered very ably especially after al-Azraqī and al-Fākihī.

There seem to be four principal factors which made al-Fāsī a great historian:

1. His background: al-Fāsī was a product of highly educated families on both sides. His father⁽¹⁾ (d. 819/1416) was one of the Meccan scholars, as well as several members of his family, who held the post of the Imām of the Malikite Maqām⁽²⁾ at the Holy Mosque. On his mother's side, who was a member of the Nuwayrī family, a well known family in Mecca, his grandfather was Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-'Azīz an-Nuwayrī⁽³⁾ (d. 786/1384), a

1. 'Iqd, vol. III, pp. 109ff; Daw', vol. II, pp. 35f.

2. It seems that the first member of al-Fāsī's family who inhabited Mecca was 'Alī b. 'Abd Allāh b. Ḥammūd al-Fāsī, Abū al-Ḥasan al-Miknāsī (d. 573/1177), who attended the Hajj in 512/1119; afterward he became the Imām of the Malikite Maqām in the Holy Mosque; 'Iqd, vol. VI, pp. 181ff; for the other members of the family, cf. 'Iqd, passim.

3. 'Iqd, vol. I, pp. 300ff; Durar, vol. III, pp. 288f.

Meccan chief judge, and his uncle Aḥmad⁽¹⁾ -- the above mentioned's son -- (d. 799/1397) was the chief judge of Mecca and Medina. Also these two families -- the al-Fāsīs and an-Nuwayrīs -- were related by marriage to other highly educated families like the at-Ṭabarīs and Ḍuhayrīs. Therefore this scholarly atmosphere helped and encouraged al-Fāsī's achievement.

2. His travel: al-Fāsī indicated that he travelled a lot to Medina and Egypt and Syria, Palestine, Yemen, searching for knowledge; this enabled him to live in different cultures and backgrounds, and to consult material for his work.⁽²⁾

3. His education: al-Fāsī was taught by highly respected scholars of his time, like Abū Hurayra 'Abd ar-Raḥmān b. Muḥammad adh-Dhahabī⁽³⁾ (Dhahabī's son, d. 799/1396), and the Medinan judge Ibrāhīm b. Farḥūn⁽⁴⁾ (d. 799/1397) and Aḥmad b. Khalīl al-'Alā'ī⁽⁵⁾ (d. 802/1399). He also exchanged knowledge with Ibn Ḥajar⁽⁶⁾ (Aḥmad b. 'Alī, d. 852/1449), and he called Ibn Khaldūn (d. 808/1406) "Shaykhunā"⁽⁷⁾, whom he may have met in

1. 'Iqd, vol. III, pp. 123ff; Durar, vol. I, p. 244.

2. 'Iqd, vol. I, p. 340.

3. Durar, vol. II, p. 341; Shadharāt, vol. VI, p. 360.

4. Durar, vol. I, p. 48; Shadharāt, vol. VI, p. 357.

5. Daw', vol. I, p. 296; Shadharāt, vol. VII, p. 15.

6. Lahz, pp. 326ff; Daw', vol. II, pp. 36ff.

7. Shifā', vol. II, pp. 194, 195, 196, 197.

Egypt. Al-Fāsī also indicated that he was taught directly and indirectly by about five hundred teachers.⁽¹⁾ This indicates that al-Fāsī was an industrious scholar, which improved his scholarly capability.

4. His nasab: al-Fāsī was a member of the Ḥasanid family, to which the Sharīfs of Mecca also belonged. Al-Fāsī was a descendant of Idrīs b. 'Abd Allāh b. al-Ḥasan b. al-Ḥasan b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib⁽²⁾, the founder of the Idrīsīd dynasty in Morocco (172/788). His step-sister Umm Hānī⁽³⁾ (d. 816/1413) was married briefly to the Sharīf of Mecca, Ḥasan b. 'Ajlān, in 805/1402. This nasab and the relationship with the Sharīf's family enabled him to discuss different matters related to this family and their struggles and rivalries.

Therefore, these four factors made his highly scholarly achievement come to him naturally.

Al-Fāsī referred to different kinds of historical materials, which enabled him to fill most of the period which had been neglected after al-Azraqī and al-Fākihī; even those two historians left some of the historical matters without discussion, which made the writing of the history of Mecca unbearable. Al-Fāsī mentioned in his introduction to his work Shifā' al-Gharām bi Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām⁽⁴⁾ that he referred to:

1. 'Iqd, vol. I, p. 340.

2. Ibid., vol. I, p. 331.

3. Ibid., vol. VIII, p. 355.

4. vol. I, pp. 2f; cf. 'Iqd, vol. I, pp. 8f.

- (1) historical books;
- (2) inscriptions on marble, stones and wood in different places;
- (3) reliable people;
- (4) his notebooks.

Therefore, he consulted most of the material which was available to him, a practice which is usually followed by the historians of the present day.

From these materials al-Fāsī tries to build up the writing of the history of Mecca, from the beginning of life on earth until his own time, in different aspects of historical matters.

He blamed Meccan scholars for their negligence of the writing of the history of their native town after al-Azraqī and al-Fākihī, while other scholars had contributed to their own towns' history, and he found no reason for this neglect.⁽¹⁾ He indicated that this neglect caused a big gap in the writing of the history of Mecca, which made his work much more difficult to compose.⁽²⁾ He also indicated that the works of al-Azraqī and al-Fākihī did not deal with some aspects of the history of Mecca, which also made his work more difficult⁽³⁾, although he paid his tribute to them.⁽⁴⁾

1. Shifā', vol. I, p. 4; cf. 'Iqd, vol. I, pp. 10f.

2. Shifā', loc. cit.; cf. 'Iqd, vol. I, pp. 11f.

3. 'Iqd, vol. I, pp. 8f.

4. Shifā', loc. cit.

In spite of the difficulty of the work, and his engagement as a Malikite qādī of Mecca, and other scholarly engagements, he achieved his desire, and has done an outstanding historical work in the history of Mecca.

Al-Fāsī's main works in the history of Mecca are two books, Shifā' al-Gharām bi Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām, and al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Āmīn. The other works in the history of Mecca are abridgements of these two books.

He divided Shifā' al-Gharām into forty chapters, dealing with Mecca, its measurements and excellences and its names; the buildings of the Ka'ba, their measurements and the history of its decoration, its ma'ālīq and covers, and its servants, and its excellences, as well as the excellences of the Yemenite corner (ar-Rukun al-Yamānī) and the Black Stone (al-Ḥajar al-Aswad). He mentioned the history of Maqām Ibrāhīm and Hijr Ismā'īl. He also described the Holy Mosque, and its buildings and measurements, and the number of its columns and archs and its candles and gates and minarets, and its four maqām -- according to the four madhhab -- and the well of Zamzam.

He mentioned some of the blessed places in Mecca, and its surrounding area, like mosques and the suggested birth places of the Prophet and his daughter Fāṭima, and his cousins 'Alī and Ja'far, and his uncle Ḥamza, as well as the suggested birth place of 'Umar b.



al-Khaṭṭāb. He mentioned the history of the blessed houses, like the house of Khadīja and the house of Abū Bakr, and the house of al-Arqam, and the house of al-'Abbās. He described the blessed mountains and Mecca's cemeteries and the places which have a connection with the Hajj. He dealt with Meccan schools and hospices (ribāt) and public fountains (siqāya, or sabīl), and ponds, wells, springs and lavatories.

In this topographical history al-Fāsī gave us the full plan of the Ka'ba and the Holy Mosque and Mecca during his time, with their history and backgrounds.

The topographical history takes more than half of the book, and the rest of the book deals with the pre-Islamic and Islamic Meccan political history until his time, and he also mentions the economic history (ghālā' and rukhs) as well as the history of plagues and epidemics (wabā'). He also mentioned Meccan floods and rains and thunderbolts. Therefore, al-Fāsī, in this work, covered most of the historical aspects, giving us nearly the full picture of Meccan history up to his time.

He made several abridgements of this work⁽¹⁾:

(1) Tuhfat al-Kirām bi Akhbār al-Balad al-Ḥarām⁽²⁾;

1. 'Iqd, vol. I, p. 342; Lahz, p. 193.

2. 'Iqd, loc. cit.; Paris, 1668, 3; GAL, II, p. 222, Supp., II, p. 222; Leiden Or 2654; Bankipore, vol. XV, 1087; Bodleian Ms. March 432; Awqāf (Baghdad) 3025 (870) Talass, p. 220.

- (2) an abridgement of Tuhfat entitled Tahsīl al-Marām min Tārīkh al-Balad al-Ḥarām⁽¹⁾;
- (3) an abridgement of Tahsīl entitled Hādī Dhawī al-Afhām ilā Tārīkh al-Balad al-Ḥarām⁽²⁾;
- (4) an abridgement of Hādī entitled az-Zuhūr al-Muqtatafa min Tārīkh Makka al-Musharrafa⁽³⁾;
- (5) an abridgement of az-Zuhūr entitled Tarwīh as-Sudūr bi Tayibāt az-Zuhūr.⁽⁴⁾

On the other hand, al-‘Iqd ath-Thamīn is a biographical history of the Meccans, and people who have some connection with Mecca, from the Prophet's time until his time. The arrangement of al-‘Iqd started with his abridgement az-Zuhūr al-Muqtatafa⁽⁵⁾ of Shifā’ al-Gharām and then was followed by the Prophet's biography, entitled al-Jawāhir as-Saniyya fī as-Sīra an-Nabawiyya⁽⁶⁾, which was an abridgement of as-Sīra as-Ṣughrā by Maghlatāyy. Afterwards, he made an alphabetic biographical arrangement, starting with Muḥammads and Ahmads, for their merits of being the Prophet's names. He also

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1. ‘Iqd, loc. cit.; Berlin 9754; Dublin 4881; GAL, II, p. 222, Supp., II, p. 222; Mecca 10 tārīkh.
 2. ‘Iqd, loc. cit.
 3. Ibid., loc. cit.; Dublin 4896; Cairo (Ma‘had) 1709 tārīkh, microfilm from Iraqī Museum's copy 1385.
 4. Lahz, loc. cit.; I‘lān, p. 282.
 5. ‘Iqd, vol. I, pp. 27-217.
 6. Ibid., vol. I, pp. 128-279.

mentioned the Meccan women in the last volume as well as the people who were well-known by their kunyas.

Therefore, this work's importance is that of an encyclopaedia, which shows all sorts of Meccan activities, in spite of being a biographical work, but through it, we learn the social and political history as well as the history of Meccan administrations, and other scholarly activities. He shortened this work in an abridgement entitled 'Ujālat al-Qirā li-l-Rāghib fī Tārīkh Umm al-Qurā.⁽¹⁾

He also wrote other historical works about Mecca, entitled al-Muqni' fī Akhbār al-Mulūk wa l-Khulafā' wa Wulāt Makka ash-Shurafā'⁽²⁾ and Wulāt Makka fī al-Jāhiliyya wa l-Islām.⁽³⁾

Al-Fāsī's presentation in all of his works started with collecting different accounts of the historical events; then he tried to make an agreement between them, or he dismisses the false accounts according to his judgement. He sometimes does not compare only between the historical books' accounts, but he also mentions the

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1. 'Iqd, vol. I, p. 345; Iahz, p. 194; GAL, Supp., II, p. 221: "Rampur I, 641, 171".
 2. Iahz, loc. cit.; Sarkīs, p. 1430; the first volume (until the last 'Abbāsīd caliph) was published by Francisus Erdmann (Kazan, Russia, 1822), pp. 68; Manchester, 248.
 3. I'lān, p. 282.

other accounts he found in inscriptions or from reliable people, or from his notebooks. Therefore, numerous accounts are preserved in his books, from many missing historical books, and inscriptions from buildings which had later been demolished, as well as from dead people, and from his missing notebooks; this makes his works more valuable.

Al-Fāsī did not rely on other historians' works when he was able to do it himself; this appears from his measurements of the Ka'ba, the Holy Mosque, and Mecca itself, as well as other blessed places, some of which had already been measured by al-Azraqī. Al-Fāsī always likes to be precise; this is evident from his measurement of the Ka'ba and the Holy Mosque and the borders of the Ḥaram, and his indication of the length of dhirā' and mīl, which he used in his measurements, and other kinds of dhirā'⁽¹⁾ and mīl⁽²⁾, which were used by the others.

He was always truthful in his discussion of historical events, and has no partiality with anybody, even the Sharīf of Mecca, so he recorded their struggles with complete neutrality.

Al-Fāsī's status in the writing of the history of Mecca is highly regarded, and his work is an authority on the subject, which made the later historians rely fully on him, and sometimes their works are considered

1. Shifā', vol. I, p. 59.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

only abridgements of his works. Therefore, the influence of al-Fāsī appeared in all of the works which have been done after him, and his opinions and judgements are always undisputed. In addition, al-Fāsī encouraged Meccan scholars to write the history of their own city, which is noticeable from numerous works which have been done after him.

Abū 'Abd Allāh, Muḥammad al-Maḥjūb⁽¹⁾ has written a book on the history of Mecca, which is entitled Qurrat al-'Ayn fī Awsāf al-Ḥaramayn⁽²⁾; al-Maḥjūb lived during the ninth/fifteenth century and his work probably deals with the description of the two Holy Mosques -- Mecca and Medina.

Aḥmad b. 'Alī b. 'Abd al-Qādir al-Maqrizī⁽³⁾ (d. 845/1442) also wrote two works on the history of Mecca, the first about the building of the Ka'ba. Its title varies between those writers⁽⁴⁾ who have reported it and the title of the two manuscripts which are

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1. Probably it was he on whom as-Sakhāwī wrote his biographical note; cf. Daw', vol. VIII, p. 111.
 2. Paris 1203, 4.
 3. Egyptian historian, and the author of as-Sulūk fī Ma'rifat Duwal al-Mulūk and al-Khiṭaṭ al-Maqriziyya; Daw', vol. II, pp. 21ff.
 4. Daw', vol. II, pp. 22f, al-Ishārat wa l-Kalām bi binā' al-Ka'ba Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām; Kashf, vol. I, p. 306, al-I'lām bi binā' al-Ka'ba al-Bayt al-Ḥarām.

preserved in Damascus⁽¹⁾ and Leiden.⁽²⁾ The same kind of variation occurred in the second work, which deals with the mention of those kings and caliphs who performed the Hajj.⁽³⁾

Muḥammad b. Aḥmad b. Muḥammad aṣ-Ṣāghānī al-Makkī al-ʿUmarī⁽⁴⁾ (d. 854/1450) also wrote two works on the history of Mecca; the first is Tārīkh Makka al-Musharrafa wa l-Masjid al-Ḥarām, wa l-Madīna ash-Sharīfa wa l-Qabr ash-Sharīf.⁽⁵⁾ The second was the last quarter of his work on the Hajj entitled al-Baḥr al-ʿAmīq fī Manāsik al-Muʿtamir wa l-Ḥājj ilā l-Bayt al-ʿAtīq.⁽⁶⁾ According to Zirīklī⁽⁷⁾, in that part he mentioned some events relating to Mecca and the Kaʿba.

It is noticeable that four members of a well-known family in Mecca, called Banū Fahd, contributed to the history of Mecca successively, whose works covered the

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1. Zāhiriya, 4805 ʿĀmm, Dhikr bināʾ al-Kaʿba al-Bayt al-Ḥarām.
 2. The manuscript's title is Dhikr Māwarada fī Bunyān al-Kaʿba al-Muʿazzama, Or 560 (16).
 3. Dawʿ, vol. II, p. 23, Dhikr man Hajja min al-Mulūk wa l-Khulafāʾ; Cambridge 442/3, adh-Dhahab al-Masbūk fī Dhikr man Hajja min al-Khulafāʾ wa l-Mulūk.
 4. Meccan qādī; Dawʿ, vol. VII, pp. 84ff; Badr, vol. II, p. 120.
 5. Cairo (Dār) 1570 tārīkh; (Maʿhad) 128 tārīkh.
 6. Leiden Or 397.
 7. Aʿlām, vol. VI, p. 229.

history of Mecca from the pre-Islamic period until the middle of the tenth/sixteenth century.

The first was Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Fahd⁽¹⁾ (d. 871/1466), whose works deal with the history of Meccan scholars, and the history of some places around Mecca, and the glories of Quraysh. His works on the history of Mecca were listed by Sakhāwī⁽²⁾ as follows:

- (1) al-Maṭālib as-Saniyyat al-‘Awālī bimā li-Quraysh min al-Mafākhir wa l-Ma‘ālī;
- (2) Bushrā al-warā mimā Warada fī Hirā’;
- (3) Iqtitāf an-Nūr mimā Warada fī Thaur⁽³⁾;
- (4) al-Ibānat mimā Warada fī al-Ji‘rāna.

The first work deals with the glories of Quraysh, whereas the three other works deal with the history of Hirā’, a mountain in northern Mecca; Thaur, another mountain in southern Mecca; and al-Ji‘rāna, a place in the east of Mecca. Brockelmann⁽⁴⁾ recorded that he wrote biographies of some Meccan scholars.

His son ‘Umar⁽⁵⁾ (d. 885/1480) followed him by writing the biographies of his teachers, some of whom

1. Daw’, vol. IX, pp. 281ff.

2. Ibid., vol. IX, p. 282.

3. GAL, Supp., II, p. 538: "Tunis, Zait. IV, 360, 2736, 1."

4. Ibid., Supp., II, p. 225: "R. al-Kāmil ‘alā tarājim al-Makkiyīn wa’l-Madaniyīn alladhīna akhadha ‘anhumu ‘l-‘allāma A. B. Khalīl al-Lubūdī (s. 85) Cairo² V, 195."

5. Daw’, vol. VI, pp. 126ff; Badr, vol. I, pp. 512f.

were Meccan scholars, which were entitled Mu'jam.⁽¹⁾ He also wrote about the history of six Meccan families, which were recorded by Sakhāwī⁽²⁾ as follows:

- (1) at-Tabyīn fī Tarājim at-Tabariyīn;
- (2) al-Mashāriq al-Munīra fī Dhikr Banī Zuhayra;
- (3) Badhil al-Jahd fī man Sumiya bi Fahd wa Ibn Fahd;
- (4) Tadhkirat an-Nāsī bi Awlād Abī 'Abd Allāh al-Fāsī;
- (5) as-Sirr az-Zuhayrī bi Awlād Ahmad an-Nuwayrī;
- (6) Ghāyat al-Amānī fī Tarājim Awlād al-Qisttilānī.

He also wrote a supplement to his teacher's work (al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn by al-Fāsī) entitled ad-Durr al-Kamīn bi Dhayl al-'Iqd ath-Thamīn fī Tārīkh al-Balad al-Amīn⁽³⁾, in which he mentioned the Meccans who died after al-Fāsī.

In acknowledgement of al-Fāsī, he started his supplement with the biography of al-Fāsī. Then he followed the same arrangement as al-Fāsī did in al-'Iqd by starting with Muḥammads and Ahmads; afterwards, he followed the alphabetic arrangement. In the last part he mentioned the people who were known by their kunyas and then the Meccan women.

His work Ithāf al-Warā bi Akhbār Umm al-Qurā⁽⁴⁾ was a chronicle of Meccan history, starting from the

1. Bankipore, 727; Berlin 10131-2.

2. Daw', vol. VI, pp. 128f; Hadiyyat, vol. I, p. 794.

3. Rampūr 3612, 3032, microfilm at Cairo (Ma'had) 1042 and Jeddah 75a.

4. Mecca 2 tārīkh, microfilm at Cairo (Ma'had) 370; Cairo (Dār) 2204 tārīkh Taymūr.

year of the Prophet's parents' marriage, until the fifth of Sha'bān 885/10th October 1480, nearly a month before he died. He again acknowledged his debt to al-Fāsī, in his introduction to this work, and he mentioned that he had depended on al-Fāsī's works on the history of Mecca, although he had added some information not mentioned by al-Fāsī, and made a supplement to al-Fāsī's work until his time. His arrangement of this work was a chronological arrangement; he usually mentioned the events happening in every year, as well as mentioning the deaths of some Meccans in that year, whether the death happened in Mecca or elsewhere.

He was followed by his son 'Abd al-'Azīz⁽¹⁾ (d. ca. 922/1516), who made a supplement to Ithāf al-Warā, entitled Bulūgh al-Qira fī Dhayl Ithāf al-Warā bi Akhbār Umm al-Qurā.⁽²⁾ This work started from the date at which his father stopped in Ithāf and ended on the 4th of Jumādā I 922/5th June 1516. All the events recorded by 'Abd al-'Azīz were contemporary to him, and he was an eyewitness to most of them. Thus, he gave more details about the events and the people of his time.

His second work was about the rulers of Mecca from the Prophet's time until the middle of the year 921/1515, which was entitled Ghāyat al-Marām bi Akhbār Saltanat

1. Daw', vol. IV, pp. 224ff; Shadharāt, vol. VIII, pp. 100ff.

2. Mecca l tārīkh, microfilm at Cairo (Ma'had) 378.

al-Balad al-Ḥarām.⁽¹⁾ In this work, he quoted literally most of his information from al-Fāsī's work al-ʿIqd ath-Thamīn, that means he copied all the biographies of the rulers of Mecca from the Prophet's time until al-Fāsī's time from al-ʿIqd, without alteration or addition. Afterwards, he continued the work until his time.

Al-Baghdādī⁽²⁾ mentions two works which were done by ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, entitled Nuzhat Dhawī al-Aḥkām bi Akhbār al-Khutabāʾ wa l-Aʿimma wa Qudāt Balad Allāh al-Ḥarām and a chronological history of Mecca starting from 872 A.H, until his death, which probably was Bulūgh al-Qirā.

Again, the son of ʿAbd al-ʿAzīz, Jār Allāh⁽³⁾ (Muḥammad) (D. 954/1547), has made a supplement to his grandfather's and father's works on the history of Mecca. This supplement was entitled Nayl al-Munā bi Dhayl Bulūgh al-Qirā li Takmilat Ithāf al-Warā.⁽⁴⁾ This work started from 4th Dhū al-Hijja 923/18th December 1517, until 3rd Rajab 946/14th November 1539. He followed the same system as his fathers, and recorded events contemporary to him; it can be said that to most of them he was an eyewitness.

1. Berlin 9755.

2. Hadīyyat, vol. I, p. 583.

3. Shadharāt, vol. VIII, p. 301; Aʿlām, vol. II, p. 93, vol. VII, p. 79.

4. Istanbul (Süleymaniye) Şehid Ali Paşa, 1961.

The other works of Jār Allāh in the history of Mecca were:

- (1) at-Tuhfa al-Laṭīfa fī Binā' (Anbā') al-Masjid al-Ḥarām wa l-Ka'ba ash-Sharīfa⁽¹⁾;
- (2) Bahjat az-Zamān bi 'Imārat al-Ḥaramayn li Mulūk Āl 'Uthmān⁽²⁾;
- (3) Tuhfat an-Nāsī bi Akhbār Ribāt Sayīdinā al-'Abbās⁽³⁾;
- (4) Husn al-Qirā fī Awdiyat Umm al-Qurā.⁽⁴⁾

The contribution of this family to the history of Mecca is remarkable. Since no works contemporary to them by any other Meccans are known to us, this makes their works the only sources for the Meccan version of Meccan history. They also presented a daily chronicle of events in Mecca covering a period of more than a hundred year, after al-Fāsī. As they give eyewitness

1. Kashf, vol. I, p. 373; Idāh, vol. I, p. 256.

2. Idāh, vol. I, p. 201.

3. Yale University Library (U.S.A.) L-235.

4. R. B. Serjeant, "Two sixteenth-century Arabian geographical works", Bulletin of the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London, vol. XXI (1958), pp. 254ff. Although this work deals with the description of some places around Mecca and Jeddah and Ṭā'if, the author recorded some historical information relating to Mecca. Loc. Āl Sahl Library, Tarim (Ḥaḍramūt), microfilm at SOAS, and Cairo (Ma'had), 95, from al-Aḥqāf Library (Ḥaḍramūt).

reports of most of the events, their works acquire a high degree of confidence and reliability.

Two members of another Meccan family, Banū Zuhayra, have also contributed to the history of Mecca. The first was (Ṣalāḥ ad-Dīn) Muḥammad b. Abī as-Su'ūd Ibn Zuhayra⁽¹⁾ (d. 927/1521), whose work is entitled al-Akḥbār al-Mustafāda fī man Walī Makka min Āl Qatāda.⁽²⁾ It is understood from its title that this work deals with the history of the rulers of Mecca from the beginning of the rule of Sharīf Qatāda (597/1200) until his time. There is no reference to this work by later historians, like his relative Jār Allāh Ibn Zuhayra nor by Quṭb ad-Dīn an-Nahrawālī.

The second was (Jār Allāh) Muḥammad b. Muḥammad Ibn Zuhayra⁽³⁾ (d. 986/1578), whose work is entitled al-Jāmi' al-Laṭīf fī Fadl Makka wa Ahlihā wa Binā' al-Bayt ash-Sharīf. Although this work concentrated on the excellences of Mecca, there is considerable historical information dealing with the history of Mecca, most of

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1. He was a Shāfi'ite qādī of Mecca and a distinguished Meccan scholar; Mukhtaṣar, vol. I, p. 181; Shadharāt, vol. VIII, p. 148.
 2. Kashf, vol. I, p. 30; Kaḥḥālah, Mu'jam al-Mu'allifīn, vol. X, p. 24.
 3. He was also a distinguished Meccan scholar, and a Meccan muftī; Mukhtaṣar, vol. I, p. 114; A'lām, vol. VII, p. 289.

which was taken from al-Fāsī's work Shifā' al-Gharām.

Ibn Zuhayra also referred to his grandfather's (d. 889/1484) work on the Hajj, Shifā' al-Ghalīl fī Hajj Bayt Allāh al-Jalīl⁽¹⁾, as well as to al-Azraqī⁽²⁾, al-Fākihi⁽³⁾, 'Umar b. Shabba⁽⁴⁾, al-Janadī⁽⁵⁾ and Ibn al-Jawzī's⁽⁶⁾ works on the history of Mecca.

He mentioned the Ka'ba and its parts, its history as well as the history of the Holy Mosque, and its parts, and other parts of Mecca.

In spite of his reliance on al-Fāsī's work he extended the historical information until his time, like the restoration of the Ka'ba⁽⁷⁾, and the measurement of Bāb Ibrāhīm's addition to the Holy Mosque⁽⁸⁾, and the history of the four sites (maqām) of the four madhhab⁽⁹⁾, as well as the history of the Holy Mosque's domes⁽¹⁰⁾ and gates.⁽¹¹⁾

1. Jāmi', passim.

2. Ibid., passim.

3. Ibid., passim.

4. Ibid., pp. 13, 18, 110.

5. Ibid., pp. 25, 86, 207, 209.

6. Ibid., pp. 104, 165, 219.

7. Ibid., p. 32.

8. Ibid., p. 130.

9. Ibid., pp. 130-33.

10. Ibid., p. 134.

11. Ibid., pp. 135-37.

He also mentioned the rulers of Mecca, after al-Fāsī⁽¹⁾ until the year 950/1543⁽²⁾, and Mecca's mosques and cemeteries, as well as some supposed blessed places. The importance of this work as a source for the history of Mecca, comes from its additions to al-Fāsī's work, which were unfortunately few and short.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad Ibn Ḥajar al-Haythamī al-Makkī⁽³⁾ (d. 973/1565) wrote a booklet on the repairing of the Ka'ba in 959/1552, which was entitled al-Manāhil al-'Adhba fī Islāh mā wahā min al-Ka'ba.⁽⁴⁾

'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad al-Jazīrī⁽⁵⁾ (d. ca. 977/1570) has written a book about the route of the pilgrimage from Egypt to Mecca; he also mentioned some events which happened during that time. His work is entitled Durar al-Farā'id al-Munazzama fī Akhbār al-Ḥajj wa Tarīq Makka al-Mukarama.⁽⁶⁾

Ḥusayn b. Muḥammad ad-Diyārbakrī (d. ca. 990/1582) also composed a booklet on the measurements of the Ka'ba,

1. Jāmi', pp. 198-201.

2. Wüstenfeld edition, vol. II, p. 334 (960 A.H.).

3. He was a Meccan Shāfi'ite muftī, and one of the leading scholars of his time; Shadharāt, vol. VIII, pp. 370ff; Badr, vol. I, p. 109.

4. Leiden Or. 786(1); Dublin 5500 (19).

5. A'lām, vol. IV, p. 168.

6. Published in Cairo, 1384/1964, by al-Muṭba'a as-Salafiyya. Leiden Or. 2384(3); Yale L-538; Dublin 5269.

and the Holy Mosque, which was entitled Risāla fī Masāhat al-Ka'ba wa l-Masjid al-Ḥarām.⁽¹⁾

The work of Qutb ad-Dīn Muḥammad b. Aḥmad an-Nahrawālī al-Ḥanafī⁽²⁾ (d. 990/1582), which is entitled Kitāb al-I'lām bi A'lām Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām, is a remarkable historical work on the history of Mecca, although Qutb ad-Dīn was interested in the topographical history of Mecca.

Qutb ad-Dīn in this work recorded fully all the events happening in the Holy Mosque and in the Ka'ba, as well as the surrounding area, during his life. He neglected the political events in Mecca, but he included in his work biographies of the caliphs and sultāns, who had added something to the Ka'ba and the Holy Mosque. This covers about half the book.

He was a man of letters, which is reflected in his writing in rhymed prose (saj') and the inclusions of a considerable amount of poetry composed by him or by others.

Whenever he mentioned any Ottoman sultān or Sharīf of Mecca, he praised them in about half a page; he did the same when he mentioned some Ottoman wazīrs, or notable men whom he had met.

1. Mecca 201 tārīkh; Berlin 6069; GAL, II, p. 500.

2. He was a distinguished scholar, and a Ḥanafite muftī in Mecca; Shadharāt, vol. VIII, pp. 420ff; Badr, vol. II, p. 57.

He referred to al-Azraqī, and al-Fākihī, and al-Fāsī, and Banū Fahd, for early history and he brought his work up until the year 985/1577.

He gives us a full description of the Holy Mosque after the completion of its rebuilding in 984/1577, which contains the number of columns and gates and minarets, etc.⁽¹⁾ He provides us with details about the Ottoman sultāns' charities to Meccans, and its distribution, and the salaries of the teachers in the Sultān Sulaymān's schools in Mecca⁽²⁾, as well as the salaries of the other staff of these schools.⁽³⁾ In addition, he gives us a full description of bringing water supplies to Mecca in 979/1572 from 'Ayn Ḥunayn, after ten years of hard work.⁽⁴⁾ He also described some Meccan social events, like the celebration of the Prophet's birthday, and the gathering at some supposed blessed places in Mecca, and the surrounding area.⁽⁵⁾ Finally he mentioned the history of some places in Mecca, and the people who built them.

Thus, comparing this work and Ibn Zuhayra's work al-Jāmi', we find in this work more details and valuable information and additions which enable us to understand

1. I'lām, pp. 421-23.

2. Ibid., pp. 256, 283-89, 306, 331-34, 388-89.

3. Ibid., pp. 353-55.

4. Ibid., pp. 339-50.

5. Ibid., pp. 438ff.

the different aspects of educational and social and economic life in Mecca, as well as the topographical history of the Ka'ba and the Holy Mosque and surrounding area, during the tenth/sixteenth century.

This work was shortened by his nephew 'Abd al-Karīm b. Muhib ad-Dīn an-Nahrawālī⁽¹⁾ (d. 1014/1606), which is entitled I'lām al-'Ulamā' al-A'lām bi Binā' al-Masjid al-Harām.⁽²⁾ This abridgement omitted all the biographies of the caliphs and sultāns, but it did summarize some historical information. 'Abd al-Karīm also brought up the historical information up to the beginning of the eleventh/sixteenth century, the last date in his work being 1009/1600.⁽³⁾

Meanwhile, Muḥammad, the son of Quṭb ad-Dīn, (d. ca. 1005/1596), had done another work which was a record for the charity of Pasha Ḥasan -- the Ottoman Yemenite wālī -- in Mecca and Medina, entitled Ibtihāj al-Insān wa z-Zamān fī l-Iḥsān al-Wāsil ilā l-Haramayn min al-Yaman li Mawlānā al-Bāshā Ḥasan.⁽⁴⁾ Muḥammad

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1. He was a Meccan Ḥanafite muftī; Khulāṣat, vol. III, pp. 8f.
 2. Bankipore 1089; British Museum 1285 (Or 4633); Leiden Or 832 (1).
 3. British Museum Ms., fol. 165b.
 4. Leiden Or 2653 (2); GAL, Supp., II, p. 515. Ḥasan Pāshā was Yemenite wālī 989-1013/1581-1604, died in 1016/1607. Khulāṣat, vol. II, pp. 73ff.

completed his work in 1005/1596, as it was recorded by al-Baghdādī⁽¹⁾ and others.⁽²⁾

According to Hājjī Khalīfa⁽³⁾, 'Alī Daddah b. al-Ḥāj Muṣṭafā al-Basnawī⁽⁴⁾ (d. 1007/1598) wrote a risāla about the rebuilding of Maqām Ibrāhīm, when he was ordered by Sultān Murād to rebuild the Maqām in 1001/1592. This risāla was entitled Tamkīn al-Maqām fī l-Masjid al-Ḥarām, and was divided into four chapters and a conclusion, which dealt with its excellences and priority.

Muṣṭafā b. Sinān at-Ṭūsī⁽⁵⁾ (d. 1032/1623) also wrote a risāla about the history of the Ka'ba and the Holy Mosque, which was entitled al-Marām fī Ahwāl al-Bayt al-Ḥarām.⁽⁶⁾ He stated the reason for the writing of this risāla was as a commentary on the Qur'ānic verse, "The first House [of worship] appointed for men, was that at Bakka, full of blessing, and of guidance for all kinds of beings" (Āl 'Imrān, 96). He lectured in this subject in the Holy Mosque, after he had been deposed from the qādīship of Damascus, and

1. Idāh, vol. I, p. 9.

2. GAL, Supp., II, p. 515.

3. Kashf, vol. I, p. 483.

4. Khulāṣat, vol. III, p. 200.

5. Ibid., vol. IV, p. 375.

6. British Museum 1245 III (or 4274, III, folio 32b-77).

transferred to Mecca as a teacher in the school of Sulṭān Sulaymān.⁽¹⁾

This risāla contains an introduction and commentary; the introduction is about the building of the Ka'ba until 814/1411.⁽²⁾ He also mentioned the history of the building of the Holy Mosque until the building of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mahdī. Thus this risāla does not contain any new information about the history of Mecca, and does not add to our knowledge any valuable information, and this risāla is only an abridgement of earlier works of the history of Mecca.

'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad aṭ-Ṭabarī (d. 1033/1624) wrote a number of works on the history of Mecca, and dedicated most of them to Sharīf Ḥasan b. Abī Numay b. Barakāt (d. 1010/1603). On the other hand most of his books contain a biography of Sharīf Ḥasan. Among these books are:

1. Husn as-Sarīra fī Husn as-Sīra, in which he indicates that he mentioned the rulers of Mecca until his time (Sharīf Ḥasan).⁽³⁾

2. Durat al-Asdāf as-saniyya fī Dhurwat al-Awsāf al-Hasaniyya⁽⁴⁾, which appears from its title to be a biography of Sharīf Ḥasan.

1. Ibid., fol. 33a.

2. Ibid., fol. 56a.

3. Nashā'at, pp. 37, 625; Hadiyyat, vol. I, p. 600; Idāh, vol. I, p. 404.

4. Hadiyyat, loc. cit.; Idāh, vol. I, p. 455.

3. as-Sīra an-Nabawiyya wa l-Ḥasaniyya⁽¹⁾, which probably contains biographies of the Prophet and Sharīf Ḥasan.

4. Nashā'at as-Sulāfa bi Munshā'āt al-Khilāfa⁽²⁾; this work deals with the theory of the caliphate and the caliph's qualifications, and the court of the caliph and sultān, and their wazīrs, etc. He made the last chapter of this work about the history of the rulers of Mecca from Sharīf Qatāda (597/1200) until Sharīf Abū Ṭālib b. Ḥasan b. Abī Numay (d. 1012/1603).⁽³⁾

At-Ṭabarī also wrote about the history of his family, and composed biographies of most of his family's members until his sons and daughters. He entitled this work Inbā' al-Barīyya bi Abnā' at-Ṭabariyya.⁽⁴⁾

In addition he wrote about the general history of Mecca, recording some important events, like the decision of the Ottoman Sultān 'Uthmān (d. 1031/1622) to perform the Hajj, who was killed on his way to Mecca. This work was entitled al-Asātin fī Hajj as-Salātīn.⁽⁵⁾

1. Nashā'at, p. 672.

2. This work has been edited by Ḥamad M. 'Urainān, as a Ph.D. thesis, at St. Andrews University (U.K.) in 1972-73.

3. Nashā'at, p. 695.

4. Manuscript of this work is available at Mecca 16 tarājīm, and microfilm of the Meccan copy is at Cairo (Ma'had) 909 tārīkh.

5. Idāh, vol. I, p. 68; Hadiyyat, loc. cit.

Another work was entitled Asātīn ash-Shā'ā'ir al-Islāmiyya wa Fadā'il as-Salātīn wa l-Mashā'r al-Haramiyya⁽¹⁾, about which there is no information available to us.

Meanwhile, his work Hufz al-Huram fī Awqāf Ahl al-Haram⁽²⁾ contains his complaint about the interruption of the alms for the Meccans, and he presented this work to the Ottoman wālī of Egypt, Ja'far Pasha, asking him to support his claim to maintain the alms.

The rebuilding of the Ka'ba in 1040/1630 attracted a number of scholars to write about this rebuilding; among them were:

Tāj al-'Ārifīn b. Aḥmad b. Amīn b. 'Abd al-'Ālī al-Miṣrī⁽³⁾ (d. ca. 1040/1630) wrote a risāla entitled az-Zulf wa l-Qurbā fī Ta'mīr mā Saqata min al-Ka'ba.⁽⁴⁾ According to al-Muḥibbī⁽⁵⁾, he wrote this risāla after the qādī of Egypt had received letters from Meccan scholars, containing their fatwā about who was responsible for rebuilding the Ka'ba; the qādī asked Tāj al-'Ārifīn to write a risāla to support the Meccan scholars.

1. Hadiyyat, loc. cit.

2. Text, p. 245.

3. Khulāsat, vol. I, pp. 470ff.

4. Ibid., vol. I, p. 471.

5. Ibid., loc. cit.

'Abd al-Qādir b. Muḥammad b. Qaḍīb al-Bān⁽¹⁾
(d. ca. 1040/1630) also wrote a risāla about this
rebuilding, entitled Dhāt al-'Imād fī Akhbār Umm al-Bilād.⁽²⁾

Muḥammad b. 'Alī b. 'Allān al-Bakrī aṣ-Ṣiddīqī⁽³⁾
(d. 1057/1648) wrote a number of risālas about this
rebuilding; among them were:

1. Inbā' al-Mu'ayyid al-Jalīl Murād bi Binā' Bayt
al-Wahhāb al-Jawād⁽⁴⁾, which he sent to Sulṭān Murād,
asking him to bestow something on him from his Meccan
charity, but unfortunately he gained nothing.⁽⁵⁾ This
work is a daily record of the rebuilding of the Ka'ba
in 1040/1630.

2. I'lām Sā'ir al-Anām bi Qisat as-Sayl Alladhī
Saḡat minhu Bayt Allāh al-Ḥarām⁽⁶⁾; according to al-Muḥibbī
this risāla was about the flood in 1039/1630, which
destroyed the Ka'ba, and a record of the rebuilding of
the Ka'ba. He also made an abridgement of this risāla,
which contained only a record of the rebuilding of the
Ka'ba.⁽⁷⁾

1. Khulāṣat, vol. II, pp. 464ff.

2. Kashf, vol. I, p. 821.

3. Khulāṣat, vol. IV, pp. 184ff.

4. Dublin 3707; Princeton 4452; Cairo (Ma'had) 1406.

5. Khulāṣat, vol. IV, pp. 187f.

6. Ibid., vol. IV, p. 188; Idāh, vol. I, p. 102.

7. Khulāṣat, loc. cit.

3. at-Tashrīf bi l-I'lām wa t-Ta'rīf bi man lahu Wilāyat 'Imārat mā Saqata min al-Bayt ash-Sharīf⁽¹⁾, which included his opinion that the rebuilding of the Ka'ba must be done by the sultān. However, Meccan scholars did not accept his opinion, so he wrote another risāla which was entitled

4. al-Bayān wa l-I'lām fī Tawjīh Faradiyyat 'Imarat as-Sāqit min al-Bayt li Sultān al-Islām.⁽²⁾

5. Fathu al-Karīm al-Fattāh fī Hukum mā Suda bihi al-Bayt min Husur wa A'wād wa Alwāh⁽³⁾, which contained an explanation about the work which had been done to the Ka'ba in that rebuilding, and a fatwa about its legal consequences.

6. Fathu al-Qadīr fī l-A'māl allatī Yahtāju ilayhā man Haṣal lahu bi Mulķī 'alā l-Bayt Wilāyat at-Ta'mīr.⁽⁴⁾

7. Asnā al-Mawāhib wa l-Futūh bi 'Imārat al-Maqām al-Ibrāhīmī wa Bāb al-Ka'batī wa Saqfihā wa s-Sutūh.⁽⁵⁾

8. Risāla fī Hijr Ismā'il.⁽⁶⁾

All these risālas dealt with the same subject, the rebuilding of the Ka'ba, which he presented in the course of the rebuilding when a fatwa was needed.

1. Khulāṣat, loc. cit.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.; Idāh, vol. I, p. 207.

3. Khulāṣat, loc. cit.

4. Ibid., loc. cit.

5. Ibid., loc. cit.; Idāh, vol. I, p. 82.

6. Khulāṣat, loc. cit.

Aḥmad b. Muḥammad al-Asadī⁽¹⁾ (d. 1066/1656) wrote a small book about the history of the Ka'ba and the Holy Mosque, which was in fact an abridgement of some previous works. The title of this work is Akḥbār al-Kirām bi Akḥbār al-Masjid al-Ḥarām.⁽²⁾

Al-Asadī actually died before he finished the final draft of his work, so his son Muḥammad⁽³⁾ (d. 1137/1725) made the final draft and completed some spaces left by his father and wrote the introduction to this work; as he says, he added some information, including the mention of the rebuilding of the Ka'ba by Sulṭān Murād in 1040/1630, and the excellence of Sulṭān cemetery.⁽⁴⁾

The arrangement of this work is:

1. The excellence of the Ka'ba, which includes the excellence of the Black Stone, the Yemenite corner and the Abraham site, al-Ḥijr, the Ka'ba's cover, decoration and the rebuilding of the Ka'ba, and some maintenances.

2. The building of the Holy Mosque and its extensions and its description.

3. The excellence of Mecca, its names, and the supposed blessed places in Mecca.

4. Distinguished places around Mecca.

1. Khulāṣat, vol. I, pp. 325ff; Mukhtaṣar, vol. I, pp. 39f.

2. Cairo (Dār) 8257h; Zāhiriyya 1154; Meccā 18 tārikh.

3. Mukhtaṣar, vol. II, p. 355.

4. Cairo (Dār) Ms., fols. 1b-2a.

As was said before, this work is an abridgement of the previous work, and neither the author nor his son added any new information. They sometimes neglect mentioning events which happened to the Mosque and the Ka'ba, which were mentioned by previous historians.

According to Ziriklī⁽¹⁾, there is an abridgement of this work preserved at the General Library in Rabat (Morocco), which is entitled Ithāf al-Kirām bi Fadā'il al-Ka'ba al-Gharra' wa l-Balad al-Harām.⁽²⁾

1. A'lām, Supp., II, p. 31.

2. Group 1141 Kattānī.

CHAPTER III

THE AUTHOR AS AN HISTORIAN AND HIS CONTRIBUTION TO THE HISTORY OF MECCA

1. The Author's Theory of History and Historian's Qualifications

The author in his first introduction to this work, expressed his theory about history and an historian's qualifications.⁽¹⁾ He said: "History is a science by which knowledge is acquired of the circumstances and events of the past. Its subject is reports about previous people, including accounts and events concerning them and also their qualities."⁽²⁾

The advantages gained from it include:

1. that a man's right can be given to him;
2. that people are categorized according to their proper position;
3. that men can be reminded [to undertake] good works and thereby the number of good works can be increased;
4. that the abrogating [of laws] and the abrogated [laws] may be known;

1. Text, pp. 8-13.

2. Ibid., p. 8.

5. for the purposes of judging the weakness and soundness of the transmitters of hadīth;
6. for amusement and consolation.

He also acknowledges that History is an individual part of 'Ilm al-Muhāḍarāt [general culture (?)]. He divided history into two branches⁽¹⁾:

1. The biography of individuals, including their lineage and everything related to them;
2. Recording events and incidents.

He also indicates that the first branch is very difficult to deal with; therefore, he makes some qualifications for someone who wants to deal with this branch of History⁽²⁾:

1. He must be without passion;
2. he must be truthful;
3. he must have sound judgement;
4. he must have an upright character;
5. he must have a knowledge of the arrangement and emendation of words;
6. his quotations must not rely on weak information.

He also quoted another theory of an historian's qualifications, from as-Subkī's work Tabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya⁽³⁾, which the latter has quoted from his

1. Text, p. 9.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

3. Ibid., pp. 10-12; cf. as-Subkī, Tabaqāt ash-Shāfi'iyya, vol. II, pp. 22ff.

father's notebook. Although he is quoting as-Subkī, it must be assumed that as-Subkī's ideas on history were accepted by the author. Therefore, they will be dealt with in terms of the author's own theory of historical writing.

As-Subkī⁽¹⁾ accused the historians of not being honest by not placing people in their proper place. That was caused by their zealotry or ignorance or their reliance on unreliable sources, etc. He also indicated that most historical works are affected by these faults. As-Subkī also blamed adh-Dhahabī of being a zealot against Shāfi'ites and Ḥanafites and Ash'arites, while he praised Mujassimites. As-Subkī, however, praised adh-Dhahabī as an excellent scholar, but he was astonished by his remarks on these groups.⁽²⁾

As-Subkī's father remarks that the historian's qualifications are⁽³⁾:

1. He must be truthful;
2. he must rely on the words, not on the meaning;
3. he must not rely on his memory;
4. he must name his sources;
5. he must be cognisant with everything of the biographee, for example, his knowledge and his belief;

1. Text, p. 10.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

3. Ibid., p. 11.

6. he must choose his expressions well;
7. he must be acquainted with the meanings of words;
8. he must be able to give a clear picture.

It seems that as-Subkī's father's remarks on the historian's craft were admired by a number of historians, among them as-Suyūṭī. (1)

It had become a custom that most of the historical works contained in their introductions their authors' ideas of history. Therefore the author, in this work, expressed his views. The author considers that among the excellent historical works were those of al-Khaṭīb al-Baghdādī and as-Sam'ānī, and as-Subkī, Ibn Khallikān and Khalīl b. Aybak aṣ-Ṣafadī. The best works on the history of Mecca were by Taqī ad-Dīn al-Fāsī and Banū Fahd. (2)

In his choice of historical works, the author seems to show a heavy bias in favour of biographical works. Although the author ignores most of the important general historical works in his estimate of outstanding works of history, his own work is mostly not a biographical work.

On the other hand, he does not specify the exact works of al-Fāsī and Banū Fahd which he admired, while all of them have written two kinds of historical works --

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1. as-Suyūṭī, Abū Bakr, Nazm al-'Iqyān fī A'yān al-A'yān (ed. Philip K. Hitti, New York, 1927), pp. 8f.
 2. Text, pp. 9, 12, 13.

biographical as well as chronological works. However, it is understandable from his judgement on the works of al-Khatīb al-Baghdādī and the others that he means their biographical works.

2. The Author as an Historian

In this part, the author's theory of history, and his qualifications as an historian will be dealt with.

The first rule he made for the historian, that he must be without passion, he in fact never applied to himself. From the beginning of this work, he praised himself and his system of education. Secondly, he also praised his work as unsurpassed, which contains every event from the past until his time, about the history of Mecca.⁽¹⁾ He always praises himself, whenever he found a chance, for instance, when he shouted at the keeper of the well of Zamzam, because the latter had closed the well's door, preventing people from taking water, and accused him of being a fāsiq.⁽²⁾

He also praised his treatises about the rebuilding of the Ka'ba in 1040/1630 as useful and reliable works⁽³⁾, whereas he underestimated the other works on the same subject which were done by other Meccan scholars, and

1. Text, pp. 3f.

2. Ibid., p. 77.

3. Ibid., p. 169.

describes them as useless.⁽¹⁾ The same impression he applied to the others' works on the flood of 1039/1630.⁽²⁾

He praised his father, describing him as a great scholar; therefore he was respected by the Sharīfs of Mecca⁽³⁾ and the Ottoman statesmen.⁽⁴⁾ He praised his grandfathers, for instance his grandfather Yaḥyā was described as the excellent scholar of his time⁽⁵⁾, as well as his great-grandfather Muḥib ad-Dīn at-Ṭabarī.⁽⁶⁾

He was enthusiastic for his family, who claimed that the Imamate of the Shāfi'ite site in the Holy Mosque was given to them by the sultāns a long time ago.⁽⁷⁾ He also praised his family for producing famous scholars, who held the posts of shaykh of the Ḥaram and Shāfi'ite qādī as well as khaṭīb of the Ḥaram.⁽⁸⁾ In addition he praised his family for being on good terms with the Sharīfs of Mecca⁽⁹⁾, as well as being the oldest family in Mecca, and for being from the ancestry of al-Ḥusayn b. 'Alī b. Abī Ṭālib.⁽¹⁰⁾

1. Text, p. 168.

2. Ibid., p. 111.

3. Ibid., pp. 230, 233.

4. Ibid., pp. 245f.

5. Ibid., p. 313.

6. Ibid., pp. 349ff.

7. Ibid., p. 218.

8. Ibid., pp. 220, 224.

9. Ibid., p. 229.

10. Ibid., pp. 237ff.

He was enthusiastic for his Shāfi'ite madhhab, which dated the existence of their site in the Holy Mosque as the oldest site in the Ḥaram⁽¹⁾, as well as the post of Shāfi'ite khatīb.⁽²⁾

He demanded from the Sultāns the appointment of a Shāfi'ite qādī, as most of the Meccans followed the Shāfi'ite madhhab.⁽³⁾ He also described the Shāfi'ite qādī as a humble man.⁽⁴⁾

He always praised the family of the Sharīf of Mecca, and its members, with extreme praise.⁽⁵⁾ He made a section about their characters and habits, in this present edition.⁽⁶⁾

Whenever he mentioned the Ottoman Sultāns, he praised them, describing them as Sultāns of the world, the Shadow of Allāh on earth, and as saints (walī).⁽⁷⁾

He relied on unreliable information and stories; for instance, the story of Muḥammad b. Abī al-Ḥasan al-Bakrī aṣ-Ṣiddīqī, who was able to calm the riot in Minā, while he was staying in his house in Mecca.⁽⁸⁾

The same riot was calmed also by a Yemenite shaykh, while

1. Text, p. 203.

2. Ibid., p. 220.

3. Ibid., p. 226.

4. Ibid., p. 228.

5. e.g., Ibid., pp. 6, 7, 14, 15, passim.

6. Ibid., pp. 229ff.

7. Ibid., e.g., pp. 274, 296, 304, 378, 382.

8. Ibid., p. 138.

he was staying in his house in Yemen.⁽¹⁾ He also mentioned a tale about a conversation between Marwān b. Muḥammad (the last Umayyad caliph) and a monk, which indicated the monk's prognostication about the killing of Marwān.⁽²⁾ He also mentioned the legend of the drum, which could bring relief from colic by its content of seven minerals⁽³⁾; the story of the shield (daraqā) into which the Ottoman Sultān Murād b. Aḥmad stuck a stick, and nobody could get it out⁽⁴⁾; the story of the bow (qaws) which was sent by the same Sultān, and nobody could pull it⁽⁵⁾; the tale of the fatal blow of the Sharīf Abū Hāshim Muḥammad b. Ja'far, Sharīf of Mecca, which could cut his enemy's armour and body and horse.⁽⁶⁾

The author sometimes accepted other historians' views, without proper examination, especially in his biographies of Caliphs and Sultāns of Islam. For instance, he described the Umayyad Caliph al-Walīd b. Yazīd b. 'Abd al-Malik as a zindīq.⁽⁷⁾ He also described the Fatimid caliph al-Mansūr al-Āmir bi-Aḥkām Allāh as a wicked man (khabīth) and apostate (rāfidī).⁽⁸⁾ He

1. Text, loc. cit.

2. Ibid., p. 328.

3. Ibid., p. 338.

4. Ibid., p. 383.

5. Ibid., p. 384.

6. Ibid., p. 418.

7. Ibid., p. 250.

8. Ibid., p. 264.

described the Umayyad Caliph Yazīd b. Mu'āwīya as a fāsiq.⁽¹⁾ He was also prejudiced against Khālīd b. 'Abd Allāh al-Qasrī, the ruler of Mecca.⁽²⁾ He accused the Fatimid Caliph al-Hākim bi-Amr Allāh of madness⁽³⁾ as well as the Sultān Muḥammad Qāytbay.⁽⁴⁾

Although he copied the fifth chapter from his father's work Nash'āt as-Sulāfa bi Manshā'at al-Khilāfa, he never checked his father's information, although there are several historical mistakes. For instance, the pilgrimage of the 'Abbāsīd Caliph al-Mu'tadīd⁽⁵⁾, also the name of al-Mutaqī.⁽⁶⁾ He also accused the 'Abbāsīd Caliph an-Nāṣr of playing with pigeons while the Tatars were in Iraq.⁽⁷⁾

However, these faults cannot be used as a basis for underestimating the author as a historian, because such a judgement must take into account the author's background and education. Secondly, a number of historians made their theories about history and a historian's qualifications, but never applied them. Therefore, the author has not done something different from the style

1. Text, p. 387.

2. Ibid., p. 424.

3. Ibid., p. 370.

4. Ibid., p. 376.

5. Ibid., p. 252.

6. Ibid., p. 253.

7. Ibid., p. 256.

of his time. Thus it is very difficult to exclude the author from his time.

3. His Contribution to the History of Mecca

This is the only work of the author about the history of Mecca which was available to us during the preparation of this thesis. Therefore, this study will depend on it.

His plan

The comparison between the author's plan of this work and the plan of the work of al-Fāsī's Shifā' al-Gharām indicates that although the author took his topics in different order from al-Fāsī, nevertheless he relied heavily on the latter's work and his treatment of these topics. The author makes his plan of this work in eight chapters and some sections, while al-Fāsī makes it in forty chapters.

The first and second chapters of this work deal with the excellences of the Haram and Mecca and their borders; al-Fāsī makes them in the third and fourth chapters. In the other sections of the second chapter, the author mentioned the birthplaces of the Prophet and his relatives and mosques and hospices (arbiṭa) and zawāyā and schools and public fountains (subl) and springs and wells and ponds and baths, and toilets, and mountain paths and gardens in Mecca, whereas al-Fāsī deals with these in the twenty-third chapter, neglecting

to mention mosques, zawāyā and mountain paths and gardens. The author makes also a section in the second chapter about inflation (ghalā') and epidemics (wabā') and floods and rains, while al-Fāsī included these in chapter thirty-nine. He also makes a section in the second chapter about riots which happened in Mecca; this al-Fāsī gives in chapter thirty-eight. He also makes a section about the story of the elephant, while al-Fāsī makes it in chapter thirteen.

The third chapter of this work deals with the excellences of the Ka'ba and who among the caliphs and sultāns cared about it, and also mentions its cover and the Ka'ba's measurements; this is mentioned by al-Fāsī in the seventh, eighth, ninth, tenth and eleventh chapters.

The first section of the fourth chapter of this work deals with the Holy Mosque, and its extensions and which caliphs and sultāns built it; al-Fāsī mentioned them in the eighteenth chapter. The second section deals with al-Ḥijr and the four sites (maqāmāt), its measurements and the way of leading prayers in these sites; al-Fāsī mentioned them in the seventeenth and nineteenth chapters. The third section deals with the measurements of the Holy Mosque, its content of domes and minarets and columns and gates, while al-Fāsī mentioned them in the eighteenth and nineteenth chapters.

The sixth chapter of this work deals with the rulers of Mecca before Islam, which al-Fāsī mentioned in the twenty-fourth through the thirty-fifth chapters.

The seventh chapter deals with Meccan Muslim rulers, which al-Fāsī mentioned in the thirty-seventh chapter.

Both al-Fāsī and the author deal with the same topics as al-Azraqī in his work on the history of Mecca, as well as al-Fākihī; the same approach was also adopted by Ibn Zuhayra and Qutb ad-Dīn an-Nahrawālī with little alteration. The adoption of this approach is not important, because these matters are usually recorded by the Meccan historians.

His sources

The writing about the history of the holy cities of Islam, especially as the author planned, needs reference to religious as well as historical books. The author referred to the Holy Qur'ān to support his view about Mecca's merits, and he depends on the Qur'ān's commentary, which also supports his views.⁽¹⁾ He also refers to hadīth to support his view of Mecca's merits. He sometimes refers to some weak hadīths, the categorizations of which he did not indicate.⁽²⁾ He also refers to other religious works, like fiqh books, for the purpose of explaining some rules of Mecca's holiness.

1. Text, e.g., pp. 16-18, 20-22, 37.

2. Ibid., e.g., pp. 21, 22, 38.

However, the main sources for this work are the historical works; mainly, he depends on Meccan historians. He refers to aṣ-Ṣafadī⁽¹⁾ and Abū Shāma⁽²⁾ in his introduction to support his view about history's benefits, as well as as-Subkī⁽³⁾ for an historian's qualifications.

Al-Fāsī had great influence on this work, more than any other historian, and most of the information recorded in this work until al-Fāsī's time depends mainly on him; in other words, this work is an abridgement of al-Fāsī's work for the previous information. In fact, al-Fāsī had great influence not only on the author but on all later Meccan historians.

However, the information gained from al-Fāsī is spread over this work, in every subject the author dealt with, which entitled him to call al-Fāsī his teacher (shaykhunā).⁽⁴⁾ The author uses al-Fāsī's information in these subjects, for instance, the limitations of the borders of the Ḥaram⁽⁵⁾, and the borders of Mecca⁽⁶⁾, and some places around Mecca⁽⁷⁾, the well of

1. Text, p. 8.

2. Ibid., loc. cit.

3. Ibid., pp. 10-12.

4. Ibid., pp. 451, 452.

5. Ibid., pp. 25-29.

6. Ibid., pp. 31-33.

7. Ibid., p. 56.

Zamzam⁽¹⁾, Meccan wells⁽²⁾, baths⁽³⁾ and epidemics⁽⁴⁾, floods⁽⁵⁾, the door of the Ka'ba⁽⁶⁾, the Ka'ba's measurements⁽⁷⁾, the measurements of the Hijr⁽⁸⁾, the measurements of the four sites⁽⁹⁾ (maqāmāt) and their history⁽¹⁰⁾, and the measurements of the extensions of the Holy Mosque⁽¹¹⁾; he also quoted the story of al-Bahā' at-Ṭabarī with Sharīf Ḥāzim b. Shumayla.⁽¹²⁾

The last chapter of this edition, about Meccan Muslim rulers before the Sharīf Qatāda, mainly depends on al-Fāsī's information, whereas the author arranged it in alphabetical order, which makes him miss a number of Mecca's rulers who were mentioned by al-Fāsī.⁽¹³⁾ Again, the author sometimes uses al-Fāsī's information to support his view⁽¹⁴⁾, and sometimes he exceeds

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1. Text, pp. 78-79.
 2. Ibid., p. 86.
 3. Ibid., p. 90.
 4. Ibid., p. 106.
 5. Ibid., p. 109.
 6. Ibid., p. 176.
 7. Ibid., pp. 184-87.
 8. Ibid., p. 199.
 9. Ibid., p. 203.
 10. Ibid., loc. cit.
 11. Ibid., p. 206.
 12. Ibid., pp. 234-37.
 13. Ibid., pp. 474-75.
 14. Ibid., e.g., pp. 234-37.

al-Fāsī's information for something al-Fāsī has not mentioned, to please his fanaticism.⁽¹⁾

Despite the author's reference to al-Azraqī⁽²⁾ and al-Fākihī⁽³⁾, he rarely mentioned their names, whereas he took less information from his great-grandfather Muḥib ad-Dīn aṭ-Ṭabarī, but he mentioned his name at every quotation.⁽⁴⁾ He took some information from Banū Fahd ('Umar⁽⁵⁾, 'Abd al-Azīz⁽⁶⁾ and Jār Allāh⁽⁷⁾, especially to support his claim to be a Ḥusaynī. However, he referred also to Quṭb ad-Dīn in a number of places⁽⁸⁾, although he sometimes describes Quṭb ad-Dīn as (بعض المتأخرين)⁽⁹⁾, without mentioning his name. The same description was made for Ibn Zuhayra, who was never mentioned by name in this work⁽¹⁰⁾, which probably indicates that there was still some sort of bad feeling between the two families, although the author and Ibn Zuhayra did not live at the same time.

1. Text, e.g., p. 203; cf. Shifā', vol. I, p. 245.

2. Text, pp. 55, 78.

3. Ibid., pp. 27, 31, 35, 78, 465.

4. Ibid., pp. 27, 38, 160, 189.

5. Ibid., p. 237.

6. Ibid., p. 238.

7. Ibid., pp. 34, 54-56, 60.

8. Ibid., pp. 14, 30, 32, 33, 71, 75, 91, 211, 213, 377.

9. Ibid., pp. 30, 91, 211.

10. Ibid., pp. 207, 210, 415.

The author also referred to his father, some of these references being gained by hearing⁽¹⁾, while others were quotations from his father's book Nash'āt as-Sulāfa bi Munshā'at al-Khilāfa, the whole chapter about caliphs and sultāns of Islam.

The author arranged this chapter in alphabetical order, which makes the reader confused and loses the advantage of the historical information in this chapter, even though the author does not follow one system of his arrangement, in which he sometimes classified the caliph or sultān according to his first name⁽²⁾ and sometimes according to his title.⁽³⁾ However, this arrangement makes him miss mentioning a number of caliphs and sultāns who were mentioned by his father.⁽⁴⁾ Again, he does not examine his father's historical information, which contains numbers of false reports.⁽⁵⁾

It is understandable that the author mainly consulted the works of Meccan historians, which usually give the Meccan version only; it would have been preferable if the author consulted other historical works which usually give us other versions, as al-Fāsī has

1. Text, pp. 14, 70, 104.

2. Ibid., e.g., pp. 251-261.

3. Ibid., pp. 261-64.

4. Ibid., p. 392.

5. For these, see footnotes on the fifth chapter of the Text.

done in his works. However, probably this may indicate that the author did not have other references at his disposal.

The author sometimes gives full details of events which were recorded by early Meccan historians⁽¹⁾, whereas he gives little detail about events which happened near his time or during his time, and he was sometimes the only source for recording these events.⁽²⁾

The importance of this work

It is evident that this work gives more attention to the social and economic life of Mecca than to the political life, which is usually given more attention by most historians. This appears from the mention of the limitation of the borders of Mecca, and the Ḥaram, and mentioning the supposed birthplaces of the Prophet and his Companions, Meccan mosques, hospices, zawāyā and schools, public fountains, springs, wells, ponds, baths, toilets, mountain paths and gardens.

There is also a mention of the Ka'ba and its buildings, presents, covers, etc., as well as reports of the history of the Holy Mosque, its extensions, al-Ḥijr and the four sites. However, by mentioning these, the author gives us a full detailed plan of Mecca and the Holy Mosque during his time, which has almost been neglected by historians after al-Fāsī, especially with regard to the topography of Mecca.

1. Text, e.g., pp. 112-13, 117-20.

2. Ibid., e.g., pp. 139, 140-41.

The author, there, also gives us the borders of Mecca during his time, which was extended after al-Fāsī's borders , and also mentions other places which had not existed during al-Fāsī's time.

The author is actually the only historian after al-Fāsī who followed his approach, which enables us to follow the history of Meccan topography. This entitles the author to be one link in the chain of Meccan historians, who pay more attention to the topographical history, like al-Azraqī and al-Fākihī, and then al-Fāsī and later our author.

However, the author's description of the sites of some places is not very accurate, as is the case in his locating a place by the site of the raisin seller (بائع الزبيب) (1)

The author pays more attention to Meccan administration during his time, by mentioning the history of the post of Meccan qādī, the preachers of the Holy Mosque, 'Arafāt, Meccan muftīs, and other posts of the Holy Mosque, like the Imāms of the four sites, and the Holy Mosque's servants. Here, again, the author is the only source for the history of these posts after al-Fāsī, which is quoted by a number of later historians.

Social life is also given more attention in this work, as the author mentions Meccan gatherings during the Prophet's birthday, and other public ceremonies,

1. Text, p. 53.

like the celebration of the preacher of 'Īd speeches, and the reception of Mahmāls and their departure.

The author also has a section about the Sharīf of Mecca's customs, their relationship with Meccans, their ways of dealing with the 'ulamā' and ordinary people, their court, and their administration. The history of social life has rarely been mentioned by later historians, as well as the customs of the Sharīf of Mecca, and has never been mentioned by any previous historian in an independent chapter as the author has done. Thus, the author, again, is the only source for these matters.

In addition, economic life is mentioned in this work, when the author mentioned Meccan inflation as well as the charities which were distributed in Mecca during his time. The author gives full details about the sources of these charities, and the way of their distribution, and their benefits to Meccan life.

The cultural situation is also given attention by mentioning the number of schools which were established as well as the 'ulamā''s activities and their struggle for the religious and educational offices.

The religious situation can be known, and the strong influence of Sufism in Mecca during the author's time, by belief in saints, and the circles of dhikr and the building over the graves of some supposed walī, which appears to have been stronger than in al-Fāsī's time.

One of the important aspects in this work is the daily record of the later rebuilding of the Ka'ba, where the author gives us full information about this important event in the history of Mecca. He also indicates the struggle between the 'ulamā' and their arguments during that rebuilding.

Moreover, the author does not neglect the political history of Mecca. He recorded the most important events mentioned by the previous historians, and gave more details about the events which happened during his time. He was also considered one of the main sources for the political history of Mecca, especially during the first half of the eleventh century of the hijra.

Thus, this work is one of the main sources, if not the only source, for Meccan life during the eleventh century of the hijra. This is evident from a number of later historians who depended on this work for information on the history of Mecca during the eleventh century. Among these historians were al-'Isāmī⁽¹⁾ (d. 1111/1700) and as-Sinjārī⁽²⁾ (d. 1125/1713) and at-Ṭabarī⁽³⁾ (d. 1173/1760).

1. Simt, e.g., vol. IV, pp. 105-07, 405f, 412f, 427, 437, 439-41, 455-56.

2. 'Alī as-Sinjārī, Manā'ih al-Karam fī Akhbār al-Bayt wa Wulāt al-Haram, Cairo (Ma'had) microfilm No. 831 from Ms. No. 520 at 'Ārif Hikmat library in Medina, passim.

3. Ithāf Fudalā' az-Zaman, fol. 101a.

Unfortunately, the last third of this work is not available to us, and seems to be lost. In that third the author recorded the history of the rulers of Mecca, from Sharīf Qatāda until his time. It seems in that chapter he gave more details about Meccan political history, especially for events which were contemporary to him.

CHAPTER IV

THE MANUSCRIPTS' DESCRIPTIONS

This work, as far as we know, is available in three manuscript copies:

I -- the manuscript of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya (Egyptian National Library) in Cairo, which is given the symbol (ج) in this edition.

Its number is 2205 tārīkh taymūr and its measurements are 19 x 15 cm (7.6 x 6 inches) and contains 89 folios of 31 lines each, with approximately 10 words in each line. It is written in an excellent naskh hand, and seems to have been preserved in a good condition.

The original copy seems to have been finished in 1047/1637, as the author has mentioned events in the last month of the year 1046/1637.⁽¹⁾ However, the author has not indicated when he finished this work. Meanwhile, Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya's manuscript is dated Saturday, 23rd Jumādā al-Ākhira 1163/30th May 1750⁽²⁾; thus, there is a difference of approximately 116 years between the two.




This manuscript seems to have been owned by a number of people, as indicated by their names:

1. Text, p. 153f. However, cf. pp. 382 ff, where the author mentions the Ottoman Sultan Murād IV (d. 1049/1640) before his death, indicating that the work was finished between the years 1047-1049.

2. Ms. fol. 89b.

1. Miḥdār b. 'Abd Allāh b. Muḥammad as-Saqqāf.⁽¹⁾
2. Aḥmad b. Ismā'īl b. Muḥammad Taymūr⁽²⁾ (d. 1348/1930), who was a well-known Egyptian figure whose library was transferred to Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya, and this manuscript was among his books, which were later owned by the Dār.

One of those who worked on the manuscript has made certain marginal additions, especially definitions of some Meccan places.

The scribe of this manuscript is Ṣāliḥ b. Ḥusayn ad-Da'jī⁽³⁾, about whom there seems to be no information available. However, he gives the date on which he finished his transcription of this work as falling in the year 1163/1750, from which is known the approximate period during which he lived. It is evident that he himself has read the work after copying it, making corrections to the mistakes he seems to have made. In his corrections he uses over the incorrect word a number (٢٠٢)⁽⁴⁾ and in the margin he gives the correct reading, adding the Arabic word  (correct) and sometimes . On other occasions he uses the sign , when he misses some words at first, the writing

1. Ms., fol. 1a.

2. Ibid., the binding paper. For his biography see A'lām, vol. I, p. 95f.

3. Ms., fol. 89b.

4. Ibid., e.g., fol. 2a, 4b.

in the margin then states what should be the reading.⁽¹⁾
His orthography is generally good, with the exception of some words.

II -- The second copy of this work is available at the central library of King 'Abd al-'Azīz University in Jeddah.

Its number is 125, and its measurements are 23 x 15 cm (9.2 x 6 inches), and contains 127 folios of 25 lines each, with approximately 10 words in each line. It was written in a good ordinary hand, and seems to have been preserved in a good condition.

The date of the completion of the writing of this manuscript is given as Saturday, 22nd Shawwāl 1279/ 12th April 1863.⁽²⁾

The scribe of this manuscript is Ḥasan 'Alawī⁽³⁾, who seems to have copied it from the previous copy, as some mistakes in the previous copy are repeated by him. However, he copied this work for Sulaymān az-Zaqzūq⁽⁴⁾, a Meccan muhtasib, and it was then owned by the late Shaykh Muḥammad b. Ḥusayn Naṣīf⁽⁵⁾, a well-known figure in Jeddah, after whose death his library was transferred

1. Ms., e.g., fol. 4b, 6a.

2. Ibid., fol. 127a.

3. Ibid., fol. 127b.

4. Ibid., fol. 127a.

5. Ibid., fol. 1a.

to the central library at King 'Abd al-'Azīz university.

In this manuscript, there are a great number of handwriting mistakes which makes it very difficult to use. Therefore, it has been ignored during the editing of this work.

III -- The third copy is in Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī, the library of the Holy Mosque in Mecca; this manuscript is given the symbol (r) in this edition.

Its number is 3 tārīkh Dihlawī, and its measurements are 21 x 30 cm (8.4 x 12 inches); it contains 133 folios of 25 lines each, with approximately 10 words in each line. It is written in an ordinary hand. Its date is Sunday 23rd Rajab 1341/11th March 1923.

This copy is also recopied from Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya's copy, by 'Abd as-Sattār b. 'Abd al-Wahhāb ad-Dihlawī⁽¹⁾ (d. 1355/1936). Ad-Dihlawī was a well-known Meccan scholar. He owned the biggest Meccan private library, and most of its manuscripts were copied by him. He was the author of a number of biographical works, which contain biographies of a number of Meccan scholars in different times. Therefore his historical knowledge seems to be quite good, which enabled him to correct some mistakes which had been made by the

1. A'lām, vol. IV, p. 127.

previous copyist. His library was also transferred after his death to Maktabat al-Ḥaram al-Makkī⁽¹⁾, and this copy was among his books.

There is at the foot of every right-hand page of the folio of all three copies, the first word of the next page as a catchword.

It was a strange accident that the difference between the original copy and the Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya copy was 116 years, which was equal to the difference between the Dār's copy and King 'Abd al-'Azīz University's copy.

However, all three copies are not the whole work, the last third of the work is missing, which contains the eighth chapter of this work.

In the margin of folio 2b of Dār al-Kutub al-Miṣriyya's copy there is a note saying that the eighth chapter has been written in an independent volume because of its large content, and in the margin of the last page of that copy, there is also another note saying that it is the end of two-thirds of this history, and the last third will follow.

However, these notes are not by the copyist himself, but by another hand. Also there are some words on the last page which have been rubbed out, dealing with this matter.

1. A'lām, loc. cit.

Az-Ziriklī mentioned that the work is in several volumes⁽¹⁾, whereas he maintains that he has seen this work in one volume at the library of Shaykh Muḥammad Naṣīf in Jeddah, and another copy at the library of Muḥammad Mājid al-Kurdī in Mecca.⁽²⁾ Al-Kurdī's library was bought by a Meccan who donated it as an endowment (waqf) and now is supervised by the government. The librarian of this library maintains that the manuscript has been lost during the transference of the library after the purchase.

However, it is evident that all these three copyists have not copied the whole work, as they indicate their names at the end of their copies, and state the date of completion of copying, which usually maintains that the work was completed.

It is clear from the statements of 'Alawī, the copyist of the Jeddah manuscript, and ad-Dihlawī, the Meccan manuscript copyist, that the missing part of this work was not available to them. The doubt is whether that part was available to ad-Da'jī, the Egyptian manuscript copyist, or not. The note in the margin of the last page of ad-Da'jī's copy tries to define the rubbed out words of ad-Da'jī's statements, which says, "This is the last of two-thirds of this work and the last third will follow"; this was written

1. A'lām, vol. V, p. 115.

2. Ibid., vol. X, p. 265.

by another hand and gives the impression that the missing part had been lost before that note in the margin was written.

However, ad-Da'jī probably left that part for other copyists, who divided the work between them.

There is no doubt that the author had completed his work as he planned, as that note maintains that there was another third which would be copied later; also there are references by later Meccan historians, who referred to that part, and gained information which is not available in this edition.

Al-'Isāmī referred to information dealing with the struggle between Sharīf Zayd b. Muḥsin and his rival Sharīf Nāmī b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib at the beginning of the year 1042/1632.⁽¹⁾ That information deals with the content of the missing part.

At-Ṭabarī, in his work Ithāf Fudalā' az-Zaman⁽²⁾, also referred to some information which does not exist in this edition, which contains information about the struggle between Sharīf Muḥsin b. al-Ḥusayn and his rival Sharīf Aḥmad b. 'Abd al-Muṭṭalib, which happened during the year 1037/1627.

However, from at-Ṭabarī's reference to that missing part, it seems that the missing part was available during the twelfth/eighteenth century, as at-Ṭabarī

1. Simt, vol. IV, pp. 440f.

2. fol. 101a.

ended his work at the beginning of 1141/1728 and it seems that part was lost afterwards. This can be understood from the historical works in the history of Mecca, which have been done during the thirteenth/nineteenth century, which contain no reference to that missing part.

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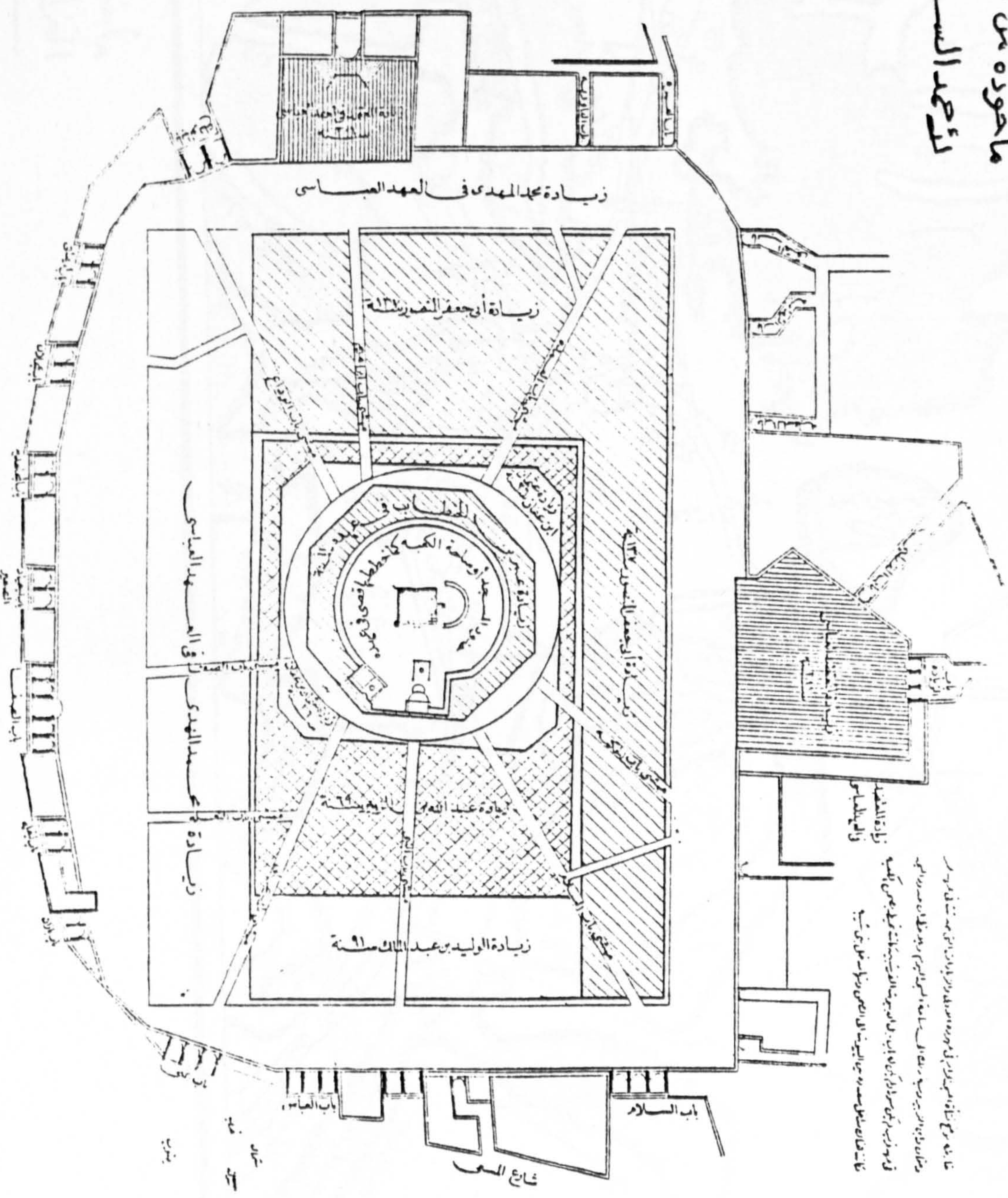
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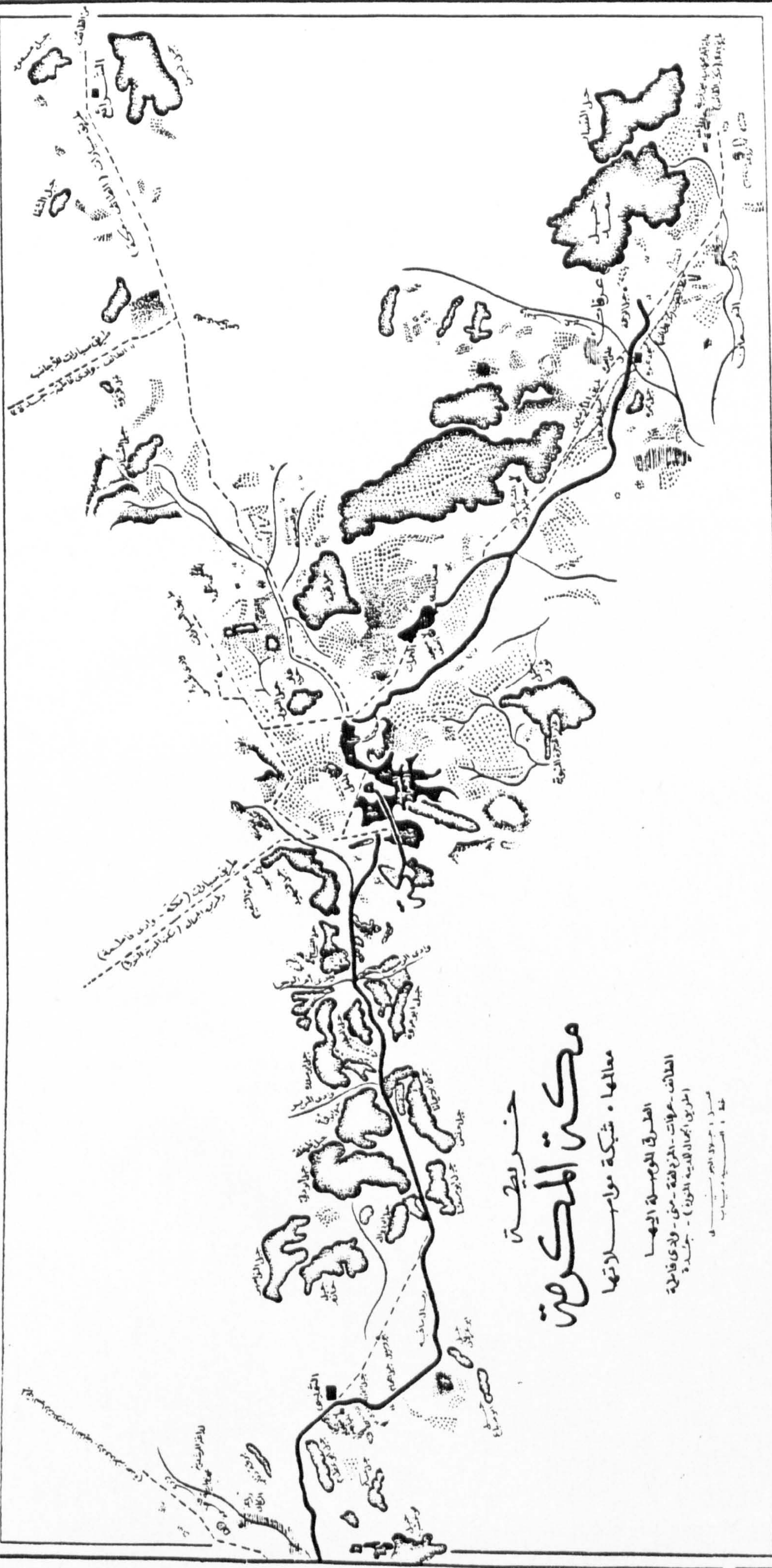
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